

RITUALS IN BABISM AND BAHA'ISM

Denis MacEoin

British Academic Press
An imprint of I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd
London · New York

Published in association with the
Centre of Middle Eastern Studies
University of Cambridge

Chapter Two

Babi Ritual Observances

EARLY BABI RITUAL

In its early phase (that is, from 1844 to about 1848), Babism was characterized by its insistence on the observance of Shi'i Islamic law and custom, to the extent that the movement may be defined at this period as an extreme example of Shi'i pietism. Thus, in the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, the Bab writes that "God has made the laws of Muhammad and his saints [*awliyā'*, i.e. the Imams] binding in every book until the resurrection",¹ and in another early work, the *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya*, he states that "since no change may be decreed for [the faith of God], this blessed law (*shari'a*) shall never be abrogated. Nay, what Muhammad declared lawful (*ḥalāl*) shall remain lawful to the day of resurrection, and what he has declared unlawful (*ḥarām*) shall remain unlawful until the day of resurrection."²

Beyond this, however, the Bab introduced a number of ordinances which extended and intensified the regulations of the Qur'an and the *sunna*. In his early letters, he "put desirable matters (*mustaḥabbāt*) in the place of obligatory (*wājibāt*) and undesirable matters (*makrūhāt*) in the place of forbidden (*muḥarramāt*). [That is, matters which had formerly been regarded as merely recommended were to be considered as obligatory, while those which had been merely discouraged were now to be held forbidden.] Thus, for example, he regarded it as obligatory to have four tablets (*muhr*) of the soil (from the shrine) of the prince of martyrs [i.e. the grave of the Imam Husayn at Karbala] on which to place the hands, forehead, and nose during the prostration of ritual prayer (*namāz* — Persian for *salat*); he considered the pilgrimage of 'Ashura a duty; he laid down prayers (*adī'a*) and supererogatory observances (*ta'qibāt*); he proclaimed the obligation of Friday prayer (which the Shi'a regarded as suspended during the occultation of the Imam) . . . and he fashioned amulets (*hayākil*), charms (*ahraz*), and talismans (*ṭilismāt*) such as are prepared among the people . . . All his com-

panions acted with the utmost circumspection according to the principles (*uṣūl*) and secondary observances (*furūʿ*) of Islam."³

The early Babis were as noted for the strictness of their observance of Islamic law as they were later notorious for their abandonment of it. Muʿin al-Saltana Tabrizi quotes several individuals on the attitude of the Babis of this period to the Islamic legal code. Many, for example, performed a fast of three consecutive months during Rajab, Shaʿban and Ramadan. Similarly, they would not wear black clothes because the Imams had forbidden this colour as being that of the ʿAbbasid dynasty, which had persecuted them. For this same reason, even the writing of books in black ink was prohibited (red and gold normally being used instead); the Bab himself wrote in red ink before the composition of the Persian *Bayān*.⁴

One of the earliest works of the Bab is a collection of 14 prayers, entitled the *Duʿā-yi ṣaḥīfa* or *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-makhzūna*,⁵ apparently written shortly after the *Qayyūm al-asmāʾ*. The prayers in this work are intended for the use of the Bab's followers on various specific days or festivals, and may thus be regarded as the first major contribution to ritual observance in Babism. There are prayers here for the main Islamic festivals — the ʿId al-Ghadir, ʿId al-Fitr, ʿId al-Adha, ʿId al-Akbar, day of ʿArafa, and the night of ʿAshura — as well as for Friday (two prayers), the day of "moistening" (8 Dhu ʿl-Hijja), following the day on which pilgrims leave Mecca, each day of the months of Rajab, Shaʿban and Ramadan (which, as we have noted, were kept as a consecutive fast by the Babis), the night of 15 Shaʿban, the third part of every night, the night of the 23 Ramadan, and a prayer to be said on the completion of the Qurʾan. None of these is particularly innovatory except in that the texts were supplied by the Bab himself — but there are two prayers, one designed to be said on "the night of 'declaration' " and 5 Jumada I, the other for the ʿId al-Ghadir, for Fridays, and also on 5 Jumada I. By thus providing prayers for the celebration of the day on which he declared himself the vice-regent of the Imam, the Bab introduced a wholly new observance into the Islamic calendar. But it was still the Islamic calendar, not the Babi.

Similar in many respects to the *Ṣaḥīfa al-makhzūna* is the *Ṣaḥīfa* (or *Kitāb*) *aʾmāl al-sana*,⁶ which seems to have been written by the Bab in Bushire on his return from the *hajj* in 1845. It contains 14 chapters, interspersed with other pieces, basically dealing with the observances for various important dates throughout the Islamic year. The majority of the sections of this book deal with the acts and devotions to be performed during the months of Muharram, Safar, Rabiʿ I, Rabiʿ II, Jumada I, Jumada II, and Dhu ʿl-Hijja (with some months having more than one section), while one section is designed to be read on the day of ʿArafa (9 Dhu ʿl-Hijja), the day preceding, the day after, the day of

Ghadir (17 Dhu 'l-Hijja), every Friday, the day of Bid' (?), and 24 Jumada II.

The Bab's views on certain aspects of Islamic ritual observance, principally on *salat* and purification, are to be found in two short works, the *Risāla furū' al-'adliyya*⁷ (written in 1846) and the *Kitāb al-tahāra* (The Book of Purification).⁸ In these works, he provides detailed instructions as to the number and types of *salat*, the rules for ablutions, the number and form of prostrations, and so forth, but adds little in the way of innovation. Further details on the injunctions provided in these works on ritual purification will be provided in the section on that topic in the next part of this study.

Considerably more innovatory are the contents of a somewhat earlier work, the *Khaṣā'il-i sab'a*, written at some point during the Bab's *hajj* journey of 1844-5. Among the instructions given by the Bab to his followers in this work are the following:

- 1 To read the *Ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra* (a "visitation tablet" for all the Imams) on Fridays, festivals, and holy nights, after the performance of ablutions and the purification of body and clothes with great care, in a spirit of sanctity.
- 2 To perform the prostration of *salat* on the grave of the Imam Husayn in such a way that the nose of the worshipper touches the grave.
- 3 To add the formula "I testify that 'Ali Muhammad [i.e. the Bab] is the servant of the remnant of God [i.e. the twelfth Imam]" to the call to prayer.
- 4 Each believer to hang round his neck, reaching to his chest, a talismanic device (*haykal*) in the Bab's hand, containing various names of God and other mysterious symbols based on the divine names (for examples of these, see the section on talismans in the next section).

But, of all the Bab's early works, the most interesting in respect of ritual observance is the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-haramayn*,⁹ written between Mecca and Medina in the course of his pilgrimage in 1844-5. In this work, the Bab discusses the use of talismans,¹⁰ provides prayers to be said at sunset,¹¹ after the noon and dawn prayers,¹² on the evening of Friday,¹³ and at the beginning of every month,¹⁴ and gives instructions for pilgrims to the shrine of Husayn.¹⁵ Of particular interest is a lengthy passage in which the Bab sets out a strenuous daily routine for the seeker (*sālik*), with directions as to prayer, supererogatory devotions (*nawāfil*), fasting (which includes a fast of 10 days each month to the age of 30, of 15 days each month from 30 to 40, of three days from 40 to 50, and of Ramadan only from 50), the taking of gum mastic, water and milk, study (including that of *fiqh* — jurisprudence), sleep, and prayers

during the night.¹⁶ A translation of this passage is provided in Appendix I.

LATER BABI RITUAL

In 1848 the Bab proclaimed himself the Qa'im or re-appearance of the hidden Imam and instituted a period of "resurrection" (*qiyāma*), in which the laws and customs of Islam were abrogated by him and increasingly dispensed with by his followers. In their place, he set out detailed prescriptions for legal and ritual practice, principally in the Persian and Arabic *Bayāns*, his two major works of the later period, and, to a lesser extent, in other works such as the *Haykal al-dīn*.¹⁷ The regulations given in the Persian *Bayān* are generally of a highly original and idiosyncratic character, and those concerning ritual and semi-ritual observance are often markedly different from their Islamic counterparts; in many cases, there are no comparable observances in Islam at all. Not a few of these regulations are of additional importance in that they form the basis for later Baha'i observance. Perhaps the most significant single feature of the Persian *Bayān* and the books related to it is the attempt to bring into existence wholesale an entire system of law and customary observance without a basis in tradition. In Islam, the Qur'an itself contains a limited number of laws relating to marriage, criminal offences, and so forth, but the later development of Islamic legislation is based on other sources, including the recorded or supposed utterances of the Prophet. Ritual observances, such as those connected with the *salat* or the *hajj*, as well as customary practices relating to dress, toilet, eating and so on, are largely based on the recorded practice (*sunna*) of the Prophet and his Companions.

The early Babis, as we have seen, generally continued to observe Islamic law and practice, with the addition of a number of extra devotional exercises provided by the Bab. But when, in 1848, the Islamic *shari'a* was abrogated, the entire system of customary practice based on the *sunna* was regarded as abolished with it. In the absence of a Babi *sunna*, the Bab sought to supply the details of daily behaviour and ritual observance side by side with the legislation he provided on marriage, inheritance, taxation and suchlike, in an attempt to translate his followers from the fully elaborated system of 19th-century Shi'ism into an almost equally elaborate Babi system. To this end, the *Bayān* contains prescriptive statements on all manner of topics relating to individual and social behaviour. Thus, we find regulations relating to bathing, depilation, and even the use of mirrors,¹⁸ to salutations,¹⁹ the use of chairs,²⁰ the giving of replies either orally or in writing,²¹ the provision of high doors for buildings,²² the number of dishes which may be laid out at mealtimes,²³ marriage within the limits of social rank,²⁴ how to cook eggs,²⁵ and a great deal more of a similar nature. In some

cases, as we shall see, these ordinances partake of a semi-ritual nature and it is sometimes difficult to make a precise division between simple prescriptions for daily routine and those which involve formalized words or actions akin to ritual observance. Nevertheless, let us attempt to summarize the more important regulations concerning devotional and quasi-devotional behaviour which contains a ritual element.

1 Prayer (*Salat*)

The Bab seems not to have laid down specific directions concerning the form of *salat*,²⁶ but he does provide regulations in general for its performance and one or two more minute injunctions. Whereas in Islam there is a total of five *salats* per day, as well as particular *salats* in the event of earthquakes and so forth, the Bab abrogated all *salats* except one of 19 *rak'āt* (sing. *rak'a* — the act of bending the body at the waist, with the hands above the knees, followed by two prostrations), to be performed between noon and sunset (*min zawāl ilā zawāl*).²⁷ The *Haykal al-dīn* indicates that even this *salat* may not be obligatory if *dhikr* (ritual mention of God) be performed instead.²⁸

The words to be used in the course of *salat* are nowhere given by the Bab, but he does provide an idea of the general content of the prayer. In the first three *rak'at*, the worshipper is to declare the unity of the divine essence (*tawhīd-i dhāt*), in the next four the unity of God's attributes (*tawhīd-i ṣifāt*), in the next six the unity of His actions (*tawhīd-i af'āl*), and, in the final six, the unity of His worship (*tawhīd-i 'ibādāt*).²⁹ In more general terms, it is stated that "the best loved *salat* is that which is performed in a spirit of joy and fragrance. It has not been and is not pleasing for it to be made unduly long: the more it is made simple and concentrated (*mujarrad wa jawhartar* — *sic*), the more it is loved of God."³⁰ The presumption is that the individual is free to use whatever verses, invocations or mentions of God he wishes, within the framework of the 19 prostrations and the themes outlined for each set of them.

Communal prayer (*ṣalāt al-jamā'a*), the most important collective ritual in Islam (apart from the *hajj*), was abolished by the Bab, except in the case of the special prayer to be read at funerals. This prohibition of communal prayer also abolished the function of imam or prayer leader of the community.³¹ Mosques, however, were to remain, for both private prayer and, as I shall mention later, Friday gatherings for the exposition of sermons. In particular, the Bab instructed his followers to erect "mosques of the living" (*masājid al-ḥayy*), possibly at the tombs of the 18 "Letters of the Living" (his first followers).³² In the Arabic *Bayān*, believers are directed to make a "noble place" in their homes a private mosque, in the original sense of *masjid* as a place of prostration. It is, however, preferable to resort to the public mosques.³³

For the performance of *salat*, men are to wear an 'abā, but never a *jubba* (except in cases of necessity) and, during the prayer, the tips of the fingers only should be allowed to protrude outside the folds of the 'aba.³⁴ Women are to pray in their own clothing (i.e. they do not have to put on an 'aba), and it is permissible for them to reveal their hair or their bodies to their husbands while praying.³⁵ The prostration (*sajda*) is to be performed on a box (?) of crystal containing pieces of the dust of "the first and the last" (presumably the first and last Letters of the Living — Mulla Muhammad Husayn Bushru'i and Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Barfurushi: see also the regulations for burial).³⁶ What seems to be meant here is that, just as Shi'i Muslims place a small cake of baked earth from Karbala or another shrine beneath the forehead when they prostrate themselves in the *salat*, Babis are to use a box or block of crystal consecrated by this dust.³⁷

The *qibla* or direction to face in prayer is he whom God shall manifest, the messianic figure of the *Bayān*.³⁸ Directions exist for the call to prayer (*adhan*), in a form very different from that in Islam. For the purposes of the *adhan*, the day (of 24 hours) is to be divided into five sections, beginning at sunset. In each section, the *adhan* consists of the words "there is no god but God", followed by a phrase which changes from section to section, also to be repeated 19 times. Thus, in the first section it is "God is the All-Rich", in the second, "God is the All-Knowing", in the third, "God is the All-Wise", in the fourth, "God is the All-Possessing", and, in the fifth, "God is the All-Powerful". Those who are too far away to hear the *mu'adhdhin* (muezzin) are to pay someone 19 *mithqāls* (a small weight redefined by the Bab) of white sugar each day to chant the *adhan* for them. If believers should be asleep, they are under no obligation but, if awake, they are to be somewhere where they can hear the voice of the muezzin, although they should not go out of their rooms to hear him. If the weather is cold or the muezzin finds it difficult to chant for long for any other reason, he is permitted to chant the following once only: "God has testified that there is no god but Him and that he whom God shall manifest is the truth from God. All are created by him at the command of God. And we are all believers in what God has revealed to him."³⁹ *Wudu'* or ritual ablution is to be performed before the *salat*, as in Islam, and its details may be found in section 7, below.

If a believer should forget part of the prayer, he is not required to repeat all of it, but may go over only that part which he missed.⁴⁰ On a journey, it is permissible at the time of prayer to perform only one *sajda*, during which one is to praise God, after which one is to sit in the *haykal al-tawhīd* posture (squatting back on the heels) and to praise God 18 times (presumably by the use of the phrase "Praise be to

God").⁴¹ Alternatively, the *Haykal al-dīn* prescribes that, on a journey, the believer is to perform *wudu'* and then to repeat the words "Praise be to God, Possessor of might" (*subhān Allāh dhī'l-aydāyī*).⁴² Pregnant or menstruating women are exempted from *salat*; they are instead to perform *wudu'* and to praise God 95 times each day, using the formula "Praise be to God, the Possessor of appearance and beauty"; elsewhere, this formula is given with a slight difference.⁴³ It is recommended that, after each *salat*, the worshipper should ask forgiveness from God on behalf of his parents.⁴⁴

2 Invocations, supererogatory prayers and reading of scriptural texts

Apart from the *salat*, Babi practice resembles Islamic in the existence of various invocations and supererogatory prayers, some designed for repetition at specific times or places. Thus, for example, believers are to stand facing the sun as it rises on Friday and to recite the following verse: "Glory from God be upon your uprising, O dawning sun. Bear witness then, O sun, unto that to which God hath borne witness in Himself, that there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Beloved."⁴⁵ The same injunction is given in the *Haykal al-dīn*, except that the verse to be used is different: "Bear witness (O sun) that no god is there but He, the Protector, the Self-subsisting."⁴⁶ Similarly, during the day and night of Friday, they are to make mention of God, Muhammad and the Imams (*mazāhir amrihi*) as well as (or, possibly, alternatively) "him whom God shall manifest" (*man yuzhīruhu 'llāh*)⁴⁷ and his "Letters of the Living" (*hurūf al-hayy*)⁴⁸ 202 times⁴⁹ and to call upon God with the phrase "O God!" (*yā 'llāh*) to the number of four letter *ghayns* (i.e. 4000 times).⁵⁰ The Arabic *Bayān* contains a similar regulation, whereby, on the night and day of Friday, the believer is to repeat the phrase: "Praise be to Thee, O my God. Bless the Essence of the Seven Letters [i.e. the Bab — 'Ali Muhammad] and the Letters of Truth [i.e. the Letters of the Living] with glory and majesty."⁵¹

In the *Haykal al-dīn*, it is decreed that the believer is to mention the unity of God 19 times per day, probably by use of the phrase "there is no god but God"; those who fail to do so are to be fined 19 *mithqals* of diamond, but not if their failure is due to forgetfulness. Similarly, the Bab (*nuqṭat al-Bayān*) is to be mentioned 19 times a day, with a fine of 19 *mithqals* of gold for failure. Muhammad (in his new persona as the first of the Letters of the Living) is to be mentioned 5 times, then 14 times (19 in all) per day, while 'Ali, Fatīma, Hasan, Husayn and the other Imams⁵² are to be mentioned in their resurrected identities 5 times per day, with varying fines for failure. Finally, the four gates ("the gates of guidance" — *abwāb al-hudā*) are to be mentioned as having returned,

again 19 times a day, with a fine for neglect.⁵³ The Arabic *Bayān* contains an injunction to perform a *salat* for the Bab, which would appear, on the basis of the *Haykal al-dīn*, to consist of 95 *takbīrs* — but it is not clear how often this was to be performed.⁵⁴

Elsewhere, the Bab makes it obligatory to perform ritual mention of God 95 times each day, using a different name of the Divinity for every day of the month. Thus, the believer is to recite the phrase *Allāhu abhā* on the first day of the month, *Allāhu a'zam* on the second, and *Allāhu aqdam* on the nineteenth, the choice of the remaining names being left to the individual.⁵⁵ In the Arabic *Bayān*, it is made obligatory to recite the phrase "God is Most Great" (*Allāhu a'zam*) — this ritual being known technically as *ta'ẓīm* — 19 times per day.⁵⁶ The *Haykal al-dīn* prescribes the repetition 95 times per day of the phrase "God is Most Manifest" (*Allāhu azhar*).⁵⁷ In the *Chahār sha'n*, the believer is instructed to stand each month facing the moon and to recite the following verse: "The glory from God be upon you, O moon shining at all times, and before times, and after times" (*fī kullī hīn wa qabla hīn wa ba'da hīn*). It is preferable to recite this verse 142 times (to the number of the name *al-Qā'im*).⁵⁸ It is, at the same time, made clear in another passage that *dhikr* is to be performed silently, in the heart, in contrast to the Islamic (and, in particular, the Sufi) practice of repeating the divine names aloud; excessive performance of *dhikr* is not considered pleasing to God.⁵⁹ Like *salat*, *dhikr* is to be performed wearing an '*aba*'.⁶⁰

Apart from this daily *dhikr*, the Bab also prescribed for each believer the recitation each day of 700 verses of the *Bayān* (a verse being 30 letters, according to another passage),⁶¹ or, if he should be unable to do so, the mention of God 700 times, apparently by use of the invocation "O God" (*Allāhumma*).⁶² In a different chapter, there exists what appears to be a supplementary regulation to the foregoing, whereby each believer is required to read the verses of the *Bayān* and is not permitted to read less than 19 verses at a time. Those who are unable to do so are to recite 19 times at sunrise the following words: "God, God is my Lord, and I associate no one with God, my Lord."⁶³ A different verse is given in the *Haykal al-dīn*, also to be repeated 19 times: "Praise be to God, the King, the Almighty."⁶⁴

Other invocations are recommended in more general fashion. It is not considered proper to engage in any activity without first pronouncing the following verse: "In truth, I stand up or sit down for the sake of God, Lord of the heavens and Lord of the earth, Lord of all things, Lord of the seen and unseen, Lord of all worlds" or, alternatively: "In truth, I do this for the sake of God, Lord of the heavens and Lord of the earth, Lord of the seen and the unseen, Lord of all worlds." Either of these verses may be recited aloud or in the heart.⁶⁵ Similarly, anyone who wishes for something is required to call on God by each of His

seven possible names (in each attribute),⁶⁶ each name to be spoken 100 times (to the number of the letter *qāf*).⁶⁷ Similarly, it is prescribed that, should a believer wish to make use of anything, he should utter one of the names of God, either outwardly or inwardly, or even by merely turning his attention to the name.⁶⁸ The *Bayān* is to be mentioned (? quoted) on anything made by a believer.⁶⁹

The Islamic use of the ritual phrase *bism Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm* at the beginning of books, chapters and so forth was replaced by the Bab by the phrase *bism Allāh al-amna' al-aqdas*.⁷⁰ The words "there is no god but God" are to be written at the beginning of books (presumably before the *bism Allah*), and "there is no Proof but 'Alī Muhammad" (*Alī qabla Muḥammad*) at the end.⁷¹ Similarly, the Islamic ritual greeting of *al-salām 'alaykum* (to which the reply is *'alaykum al-salām*) was replaced by a slightly more complex series of salutations. Thus, men are to greet one another with the phrase *Allahu akbar* (God is Most Great), the response to which is *Allahu a'zam* (God is Most Mighty), while women are to use the salutation *Allahu abha* (God is Most Splendid), to which the reply is *Allahu ajmal* (God is Most Beautiful).⁷² The *Haykal al-dīn* prescribes different forms for these salutations. Men are to greet one another with the phrase *Allahu akbar* and to reply with *Allahu azhar* (God is Most Manifest); women are to greet with *Allahu ajmal* and to reply with *Allahu a'azz* (God is Most Glorious).⁷³ These forms are, strictly speaking, not greetings at all but invocations of God, the first two being known in Islam as *takbir* and *ta'zim* respectively.

There does not appear to be any Babi equivalent of the Islamic pronunciation of the name of God over an animal being slaughtered, but while cleaning a fish, one is to repeat the words: "In the name of God, the Protector, the Self-subsisting."⁷⁴ Oaths (*ḥilf*) are to be sworn by God or by him whom God shall manifest and are to be regarded as binding.⁷⁵

3 Talismans

The Bab began his career with claims to universal and divinely inspired knowledge similar to those advanced by the Shaykhi leaders such as al-Aḥsa'i, Kazim Rashti and Karim Khan Kirmani.⁷⁶ When, in 1848, Shirazi proclaimed himself to be the hidden Imam in person, and went on to describe himself as empowered to abrogate the religious dispensation of Islam and usher in a new revelation, he saw himself as not so much in contact with divine knowledge as its source. He was therefore able to reveal to men not only material knowledge, but also gnosis located in the interworld of *barzakh* or *hūrqalyā*.⁷⁷

In the broadest sense, the supernatural knowledge that the Bab claimed to make known in his writings differs little from most other

systems of esoteric knowledge in Sufism or extreme Shi'ism, in that it purports to reveal the inner meaning (*bāṭin*) and structure of exoteric reality and, in particular, the true significance of expressions of that reality in conventional scriptural terminology. The Bab is especially concerned to uncover the meaning behind eschatological concepts such as resurrection, the grave, the questioning of the dead, death itself (and life), the hour, the bridge, the book and so forth, which he reinterprets in an original allegorical manner within the framework of an elaborate metaphysical system. The Bab's view of the world is rooted in a subtle vision of existence as structured according to a series of correspondences between names and the realities that underlie them, in patterns familiar to us from Hurufi, Bektashi, and related speculations.

This system of correspondences is linked in a unique way to the Bab's theory of knowledge in general, much as the idea of *kashf* is central to Ibn al-'Arabi's ontology.⁷⁸ A knowledge of the realities lying behind words and letters is not merely part of a more comprehensive knowledge, but serves as the key to such a knowledge and forms the most distinctive feature of the Bab's revelation of hidden truth. In one of the last sections of the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n* or *Shu'ūn-i khamṣa*,⁷⁹ an extremely late major work of the Bab's written between 19 March and 5 April 1850, God is credited with the following statement: "I have created the letters and made them the keys of every science (*mafātīḥ kulli 'ilm*)." He then goes on to address all things, saying "consider everything from the most exalted heights to the lowliest atom: you shall behold it all in the 28 letters, just as you have beheld all the letters in it; and you shall behold all the spirits of the letters in their spirits".⁸⁰ Some lines later, he continues: "I created an essence of hidden⁸¹ and concealed knowledge, and I stored it up behind the veils of the unseen from the beginning that has no beginning until now."⁸²

This knowledge or science is, of course, gematria and, in particular, the science of letters as expressed in the construction of talismanic devices. In a later section of the *Panj sha'n*, the Bab, now writing in his own person, explains the importance of this knowledge and provides a brief summary of what it entails.

Among the bounties bestowed by God on the Point of the Bayan [i.e. the Bab]⁸³ is the knowledge of all things in a single person (*nafs-i wāḥid*), so that he may behold the creation (*takwīn*) in the world of letters, with the eye of certitude. This is a perfect proof unto all men, like the verses. It was one of those things hidden in the divine knowledge which was not sent down until now, and it is more glorious than any other knowledge. All the [holy] books were sent down and shall be sent down on the basis of this knowledge . . . In brief, all things are confined to the 28 letters [of the

alphabet]. Likewise, the creation of all things is confined to the meanings contained in these letters. God has collected together these letters in 11 degrees within His knowledge [i.e. 11 degrees corresponding to the sum of the letters *hā'* and *wāw*, representing existence or *huwiyya*] and has established them as the talisman (*haykal*) of the Primal Will (*mashiyyat-i awwaliyya*), which is the Primal Man (*insān-i awwal*). The outward form (*ẓāhir*) of the talisman is the *ha'* (= 5), while its inward nature (*batin*) is the *waw* (= 6). He then created 18 talismans in the shadow of this talisman, within the ocean of names [i.e. in the world of the divine names]. Nor can they become 20, for the utmost limit of the number of the names is the name *mustaghāth* (= 2001).⁸⁴

The meaning of this rather obscure passage is made somewhat clearer a few lines later, when the Bab states that this knowledge has only been revealed so that the "guides of the *Bayān*" may be enabled to prove to others how the whole of the Qur'an is contained in a single point.⁸⁵ This is, of course, a reference to the tradition that the whole of the *Fātiḥa* is in the *bism Allah*, the whole of the *bism Allah* in the *bā'*, and the whole of the *ba'* in the point beneath it. In Shi'i tradition, the point is identified with 'Ali. A related tradition, of considerable relevance to the present discussion, is that "knowledge is a single point which the ignorant have multiplied".

According to the system elaborated by the Bab in the Persian *Bayān*, the "Primal Point" from which all things originate is the Universal Will, which first manifests itself in the form of 19 letters, the numerical equivalent of the divine name *al-wāḥid*. In the religious sphere, this is expressed by the appearance of the Point in the person of the manifestation of the Universal Will, followed by his first 18 disciples, the first things to be created in each cycle. When 19 of these *wahids* have been brought into being, "all things" (*kullu shay' = 361*) are symbolically created. This process is again reflected in the structure of the *Bayān* in 19 sections of 19 chapters, or the Babi year of 19 months, each of 19 days.⁸⁶

In the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n*, however, the Bab describes this process in a rather more complex way, using as the basis of his system the concept of the Primal Will as a talisman or temple, a notion that can be found in the Persian *Bayān*, where God says, "there is nothing whatsoever whose decree does not return to this human talisman (*haykal-i insānī*), which has been created at My command. And that talisman returns by degrees until it reaches My Prophet."⁸⁷ This procession of talismans is illustrated in the *Panj sha'n* by the case of Muhammad, who is the "first talisman", followed by the second, who is 'Ali. Although the talisman of 'Ali and his inner being were created by Muhammad, 'Ali nevertheless possessed

what was sent down by God in the Qur'an, and this was true of each of the succeeding talismans through to the nineteenth, which was the fourth of the *abwab*.⁸⁸

All of this can be expressed in a more direct fashion through the construction of actual talismans in which the pattern of the reality underlying all creation can be discerned. In the *Dalā'il-i sab'a*, which would appear to have been completed shortly after the *Panj sha'n*, the Bab writes that "among the firm evidences is the knowledge of all things in a single individual, the elaboration of which is on the level of miraculous inimitability (*i'jāz*). This hidden and concealed knowledge has been explained in the *Kitāb-i hayākil-i wāhid*, nor was anyone aware of it before this. The fruit of it is this, that one should see in the letters how all things are joined together in 11 degrees, which is the talisman of existence (*haykal-i huwiyyat*). When you cause the first talisman to journey through the ocean of names, it reaches as far as 19, but it does not enter the number 20."⁸⁹

The above-mentioned *Kitāb-i hayākil-i wāhid* is, as is evident from a number of other sources, nothing other than the last five sections of the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n*, which are devoted to the explanation of this subject. In these sections, the Bab provides practical guidance as to how to construct a series of 19 talismans containing various divine names calculated on an elaborate mathematical basis, as follows:⁹⁰

The first name is obtained by writing down the letters of the alphabet in their numerological order. Since these number 28, the divine name *wahid* (= 28) is obtained.

Next, the dots representing these letters numerically are taken, these being 9 units, 18 tens (i.e. the tens plus the units), 27 hundreds (i.e. the hundreds plus the tens plus the units), and 4 thousands (i.e. the

	يا اله ٣٦	يا جزل ٤٠	يا يسوى ٣٢	يا محبوب ٥٨	يا وعيد ٢٨	الميكال الاول
ياحق ١٠٨	يا ملوك ٩٦	يا عزز ٨٤	يا ساط ٧٢	يا دويم ٦٠	يا ليوب ٤٨	

Figure 1 The pattern for the construction of the first of the 19 *hayakil*. For the other 18, see Appendix II.

thousand plus the three other groups). These number 58 in all, which gives us the name *mahbūb* (= 58).

Next, the *alifs* (that is, the ones) are taken, as follows: 1, 10, 11, 100, 101, 110, 111, 1000, 1001, 1010, 1011, 1100, 1101, 1110, 1111. There are 32 occurrences of the numeral one, so we have the name *bīdawī* (= 32). Like many of the names that follow, this is obviously an artificial construction of the Bab's.

This pattern is continued through the rest of the units up to nine, giving us a total of 11 names, arranged in the following talismanic device:

In this diagram, the top five lines (those of the *ha'*) are the exterior (*zahir*) of the first talisman, while the bottom six (those of the *waw*) are its interior (*batin*). This first talisman, the Bab writes, is "the essence of the talismans, whereby all are created. It is the unity without numbers; you all originate in it and you shall all return to it."⁹¹

The remaining 18 talismans are constructed on the same pattern, except that the numbers used to obtain the names are doubled in the second, trebled in the third, and so on. In other words, the first talisman is constructed on the basis of *alif* (1), the second on the basis of *bā'* (2), the third on the basis of *jīm* (3), up to *tā'* and *yā'* (19).⁹² In the final talisman, it is possible to see "the form of comprehensiveness" (*ṣūrat al-jam'*).⁹³

The Bab seems to have regarded knowledge of the science of talismans as important for two connected reasons. It was, first of all, to serve as a means whereby his followers would be aided to recognize him whom God shall manifest, the messianic figure of the Bab's later works, on his appearance.⁹⁴ More significantly, perhaps, this science was seen as a rational proof of the truth of the Bab. I have already quoted a passage from the *Panj sha'n* in which this knowledge is declared "a perfect proof to men, like the verses", and another from the *Dalā'il-i sab'a* in which it is described as a "firm evidence" and given the status of *i'jaz*. In the *Panj sha'n*, moreover, the Bab says that "this knowledge of talismans has not been sent down except as a means of evidence (*istidlāl*) for the guides of the *Bayān* in respect of others, to explain how the entire Qur'an is contained in a single point and is manifested from it."⁹⁵ More generally, "the knowledge of all things in the knowledge of the talismans of oneness" is regarded as "a proof to all that has been and will be created, providing confirmation of his unprecedented wisdom".⁹⁶ This emphasis on the need for rational proofs, which stands in contrast to the earlier stress on the need to abandon such evidences in favour of intuitive recognition of the truth, seems to have become extremely important for the Bab, who was highly sensitive to attacks made on him by the '*ulama'*', who criticized his ignorance of the religious sciences and of Arabic grammar. Towards the end of the *Panj sha'n*,

indeed, he writes that "it has been prohibited in the *Bayān* to believe in a religion except through demonstration (*dalīl*) and evidence (*burhān*), proof (*hujja*) and certitude (*īqān*)."⁹⁷

It should not be assumed, however, that the Bab intended this science of letters and talismans to remain purely speculative or evidentiary. Even at the beginning of his career, he had "fashioned amulets (*hayakil*), charms (*ahraz*), and talismans (*tilismat*)",⁹⁸ and in an early work entitled the *Khasā'il-i sab'a*, he instructed each of his followers to wear round his neck a talisman in his (the Bab's) hand, containing various names of God and other mysterious devices based on the divine names.⁹⁹ Another early work, the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*, contains a section dealing with talismans, with general instructions for their construction.¹⁰⁰

In the *Panj sha'n*, he instructs his followers to teach their children the science of talismans when they reach the age of 11 (the Babi age of maturity). He also instructs them to write out the talismans of unity given in the book and to protect themselves with them.¹⁰¹ More specifically, they are to read 11 *haykals* every day, completing one cycle of readings every Babi month (i.e. in 19 days),¹⁰² ■ practice which suggests that this particular talismanic design may owe its basic shape to square Shi'i talismans used on specific days of the week. The following example of such a talisman may be compared with the *haykal* above from the *Panj sha'n*.¹⁰³

In the case of talismans, perhaps more clearly than in any other instance, we can see how the Bab sought to incorporate within his system practices derived from popular Shi'ism alongside legal and ritual prescriptions of a more formal nature. The Persian *Bayān*, which is the principal text of the Babi *shari'a*, contains a number of regulations relating to the preparation and use of talismans. Two basic forms are mentioned: the *haykal*, which is to be worn by men, and the *dā'ira*, to be worn by women.¹⁰⁴ The Persian *Bayān* also refers to the construction of a *haykal* consisting of 2001 names of God (to the number of *al-mustaghath*), which is to be worn as an amulet from the moment of birth and never left off.¹⁰⁵ The Arabic *Bayān* and the related *Haykal al-dīn* make it obligatory for every individual either to write or to have written for him from the moment of his conception the phrase *Allahu a'zam* 19 times per month; if it is light enough, this is to be carried about as a talisman. Should someone fail to complete his talisman up to the time of his death, his youngest heir is to do so for him. These amulets are, in any case, to be passed on to one's heirs.¹⁰⁶

It is not entirely clear what relationship (if any) exists between the *haykals* described in the *Panj sha'n* and those in the shape of a pentagram commonly found by that name and evidently identical with the 'triangular' talisman referred to in the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*.

وافوض	امرى	الى الله	ان الله	بصير بالعباد
محمد على	٥٣	٧٦	١٢٠٢	٧
١٧٣	ي	١٢	ع	١٧
٦	و ٧٠	٨١٧٥	١٩	١٧
١٨	١٧	٩٦	ع	١٠٧١
لا	اله	الا الله	محمد رسول	الله

Figure 2 A square Shi'i talisman, from Phillott and Shirazi, Notes on certain Shi'ah Tilisms, p.534.

Pentagram *haykals*, many of them in the hands of the Bab and Mirza Yahya Subh-i Azal, are quite common, consisting in general of repetitious phrases, sometimes incorporating Quranic verses and the names of Muhammad, Fatima, 'Ali, Hasan and Husayn. The following example will give some idea of the basic form:¹⁰⁷

There appear to be several variant forms of the *da'ira* or circle talisman, intended for the use of women. In the Persian *Bayân*, the Bab instructs that it be divided into five *wahids*, each to be divided into 19 sections, and that women may write within it whatever they wish.¹⁰⁸ There is, however, a short but detailed treatise by the Bab, in which the method for constructing a *da'ira* is given step by step.¹⁰⁹ For an example of a talisman drawn on this pattern, see Fig. 4. It will immediately be apparent that this device is formed on fairly traditional lines, incorporating several elements derived from standard Islamic talismanic models, such as the seven seals of Solomon,¹¹⁰ devices formed by analogy with spectacle letters,¹¹¹ and Quranic verses.

Apart from this more or less standardized form, however, there are two other styles of *da'ira*, one incorporating Quranic verses around a central *jadwal* bearing the words *Allahu akbar*, above which is the



Figure 3 A pentagram *haykal*, item 40:4 in Folder 2, E. G. Browne Oriental Collection, received from Rizwan'Ali in 1897.

phrase "and there is no god but God": and one made up of concentric circles of writing alone, in a manner bearing a close resemblance to the pattern of Mesopotamian magic bowls.¹¹² I also possess a copy of a predominantly circular device made up of the complete (but slightly corrupt) text of the *Lawḥ -ināqūs* by Mirza Husayn 'Ali Baha' Allah. The incantatory style of the original suggests a talismanic use, as does the arrangement of four verses at the corners. There is, indeed, a close resemblance between this figure and a *da'ira* found in al-Buni's *Shams al-ma'ārif*.¹¹³

4 Rings, engraved stones, and tattoos

Closely related to the use of talismans in Shi'ism is the wearing of engraved stones, in the form of ringstones or pendants. The Bab laid considerable stress on the preparation and wearing of such stones, particularly as rings, and — as we shall see — gave directions for their use on the bodies of the dead. In the *Bayān*, it is made obligatory for everyone to have engraved and to wear in the form of a ring, a stone of red cornelian/agate (*'aqīq al-aḥmar*; *sic*: the Bab often adds a definite



Figure 4 A Babi *da'ira*, printed in gold and incorporating script in the Bab's own hand, given to E. G. Browne by Subh-i Azal in 1896. Item B.6 in Folder 3 of Browne's Oriental Collection.

article before the second element of an indefinite clause, or removes it before the first element of a definite clause) inscribed with the verse: "Say: God is the Truth, and all save God is created and all are His servants."¹¹⁴ In the same chapter, the Bab writes that "If anyone should wish to enter into the talismanic protection of God", he should order a *da'ira* of five circles to be inscribed on a round cornelian. In the first circle there is to be written the Throne verse, in the second the names of the circle, in the third the letters of the *bism Allah*, in the fourth the six names (i.e. *al-Fard*, *al-Hayy*, *al-Qayyūm*, *al-Hakam*, *al-'Adl*, and *al-Quddūs*), and in the fifth whatever is conformable to his condition and intention, but to no more than 19 letters. Similarly, it is pleasing to God if no more than 19 letters be inscribed in the first and second circles.¹¹⁵

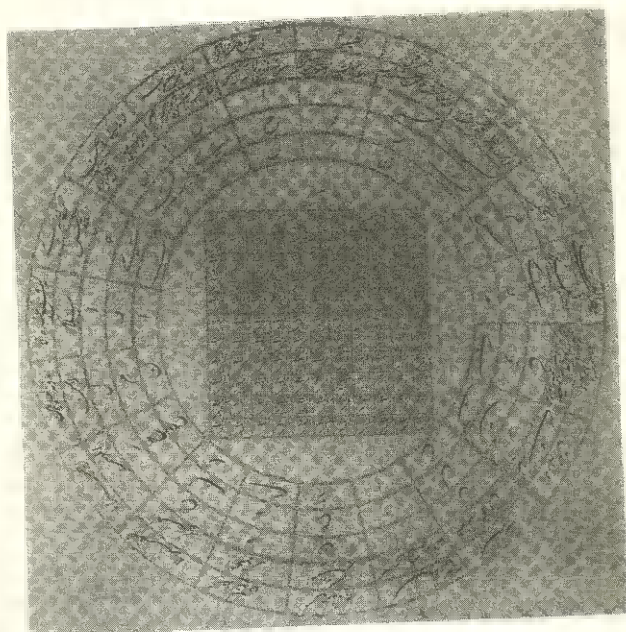


Figure 2 A Babi *da'ira* received by E. G. Browne from Mirza Mustafa of Isfahan in 1913. Item 40:2 in Folder 2 of Browne's Oriental Collection.

In the *Haykal al-dīn*, the believers are directed to wear on their right hands a ring inscribed with two verses: "Praise be to God, the mighty Power; praise be to God, the inaccessible Knowledge."¹¹⁶ In his commentary on the *sūra al-qadr* (chapter 97 of the Qur'an), the Bab writes: "That figure is one of the letters of the greatest name, which 'Ali spoke of in what he said. Its form is this:



There is no one who shall inscribe [with it] a ringstone of red, Yemeni ruby but shall gather together all good, and it shall be his protection (*hīrz*) from all evil, for it is the greatest name which hath spoken of the Three Degrees in the Torah and the Four Names in the Gospel and the Five Names."¹¹⁷ The relationship between this use of the traditional Shi'i "greatest name" symbol and the later Baha'i "ringstone symbol" will be discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.

For those who are able, it is obligatory to inscribe the words "Praise be to God" on a peerless diamond and to give it, with their own hands, into the keeping of the Qa'im.¹¹⁸ It is again obligatory for everyone to own a yellow ruby (*la'al al-asfar*), on which the words "Praise is God's" are to be inscribed, this to be given to the first person to announce to him tidings of the advent of him whom God shall manifest.¹¹⁹ It is also an obligation to inscribe the "word of unity" (*kalimat al-tawhīd* — i.e. "There is no god but God") on a green emerald and to give it to whoever reads the book of God on the promised day. For those who are able, this instruction should be carried out on a ruby (*yāqūt*).¹²⁰ We shall encounter another use of a ring in our later discussion of pilgrimage. In the *Haykal al-dīn*, the Bab makes it obligatory for his followers, if they are able, to possess 19 rings and 19 sheets of fine paper.¹²¹ It would appear to be these same rings and sheets which the Persian *Bayān* states are to be left to one's heirs, the rings being each inscribed with one of the names of God.¹²²

In a chapter of the Persian *Bayān* dealing with matters relating to bathing and personal hygiene, the Bab instructs men to tattoo the word *al-rahman* (the Merciful) on their chest, and women the word *Alla-humma* (O God). It is permissible to write more than these two words, but no directions are given for other phrases.¹²³

5 Fasting (*sawm*, *siyam*)

The Bab does not give detailed regulations concerning fasting *ṣawm*, *ṣiyām*. He ordains a fast of 19 days (i.e. one Babi month) at the end of the year,¹²⁴ specifically in the last month, 'Alā',¹²⁵ during which believers are to abstain between sunrise and sunset from food and drink, sexual intercourse, disputation (even on matters of learning), violence and passing decrees against God. Fasting is not obligatory for either men or women until the age of 11 (the Babi age of maturity), although they may do so until noon — if they continue after that, they are not fasting. Similarly, one is not to fast after the age of 42 and will not be regarded as fasting if one continues to do so.¹²⁶

6 Pilgrimage (*hajj* and *ziyara*)

Perhaps the most significant injunction issued by the Bab with regard to pilgrimage is for the destruction (or, possibly, abrogation — raising up: *irīfā'*) of the shrines of the past, including those in Kufa, the Ka'ba, and the graves of the Imams and their descendants.¹²⁷ New shrines are to be established in their place. In the Persian *Bayān*, the Bab indicates that he is to be buried "in one of the twin shrines", which (especially in view of his own use of the term in the *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*) may be a reference to Mecca and Medina. No regulation is given here for a pilgrimage to this place, although it is stated that an edifice (*bayt*) is to

be built here (cf. the use of *bayt* with reference to Jerusalem and the Ka'ba in *Bayān*, 4:12), which is to be made of mirrors (presumably in the manner of Shi'i shrines like Shah Chiragh in Shiraz).¹²⁸ In the Arabic *Bayān*, however, it is laid down as an obligation on believers to visit the house of the Bab in Shiraz, his tomb, the tombs of the Letters of the Living, and the mosques (presumably the mosques of the Letters of the Living and those associated with the first two places) — provided the individual is capable of doing so.¹²⁹

Properly speaking, the new *ka'ba* or house of God (*bayt Allāh*) was to be the house of the Bab in Shiraz. This edifice was to measure 36 cubits (*dhar'*) in length and breadth (not including the walls). If it were possible, the believers would be commanded to fill it from the surface of the water (? in the pool) to its top with diamonds and to replace its earth with elixir (*iksir*) and its water with red perfume (*'atr-i aḥmar*). But, since this is impossible, any suitable form will do, although it would be ideal if it could be covered with segments of mirror.¹³⁰ A mosque (the *masjid al-ḥaram*) is to be built on the spot where the Bab was born, and another beside the house of God.¹³¹ The tomb of his son Ahmad, who was still-born, is to be placed within the precincts of the *masjid al-ḥaram*, and is to be treated as a place of prayer.¹³²

Pilgrimage to this new house is ordained, but those who are separated from it by a stretch of sea are absolved of the obligation and are instead to give whatever monies they would have spent on the journey to a believing relative.¹³³ Alternatively, they may pay trustees (*awliya'*) to perform the pilgrimage on their behalf.¹³⁴ The performance of the *hajj* is incumbent on all males once in their lives, but on the condition that the pilgrim possesses sufficient funds to travel without discomfort. Otherwise, it is not permissible to make the pilgrimage. On arrival at the *bayt*, the pilgrim must pay four *mithqals* of gold to the 19 servants who look after it and the pilgrims; slaves, servants, children, those who have been plundered on the way and those who are unable to do so are absolved from paying this sum.¹³⁵ The 19 servants of the house are not to ask for this sum and are to share the money between themselves once a year.¹³⁶

Pilgrimage may not be purchased for someone who is dead (by sending someone in his place), but, if someone has been planning to have another perform the pilgrimage on his behalf and dies before this takes place, then his intention to do so will be recognized by God. Women are absolved from the performance of the pilgrimage, to save them the hardship of travel. Those who live in the land of the house (Shiraz) or in its environs must, however, perform a pilgrimage each year.¹³⁷ This includes the women of this region, who are to visit the house of God by night, whenever they wish; they are to sit on seats next to the "manifestations of the unity" (*mazāhir al-wāḥid* — the 19 servants of the house), praise God and return to their homes.¹³⁸ They

are also expected to go by night to the *masjid al-haram*, apparently after performing the circumambulation of the house, and to sit there with 19 women (seemingly 19 female servants of the mosque).¹³⁹

The Bab does not appear to have detailed anywhere the pilgrimage rites associated with the *hajj* to Shiraz, but a number of relevant injunctions do exist. It was made obligatory for anyone entering Shiraz to prostrate himself at the threshold of the city, and we may assume that this was a preliminary rite of the *hajj*.¹⁴⁰ Circumambulation (*tawāf*) of the house is mentioned in a number of places,¹⁴¹ but the number of times is not specified. The house itself was to be entered by the pilgrims, who were to pray there,¹⁴² although the form and content of their prayers were again not specified by the Bab. As we shall see, these omissions in the Babi *hajj* were all rectified by Baha' Allah in laying down the provisions for Baha'i pilgrimage.

Aside from the *hajj*, the Bab envisaged other pilgrimages (*ziyarat*) to be performed by his followers. Whereas in Shi'ism there have come into existence (as in North African Islam) numerous shrines and tombs to which *ziyarat* may be made, the Bab sought to limit these to the resting-places of the 19 "Letters of Unity" (i.e. himself and the 18 Letters of the Living), who were regarded as the manifestations in the Babi cycle of Muhammad, Fatima, the 12 Imams, and the four gates, together with himself as the "Primal Point".¹⁴³ Tombs were to be erected over these 19 sacred remains,¹⁴⁴ and all other graves were to be regarded as in their shadow, removing the need to perform pilgrimages to any place but the 19 shrines.¹⁴⁵ Right of refuge and pardon was to be extended to any who might seek it at these shrines¹⁴⁶ or even express the intention of so doing.¹⁴⁷

Those performing *ziyara* to one of these shrines were expected to fulfil certain conditions of physical and ritual cleanliness: "If you desire to perform a visitation to [the shrine of] the Point [i.e. the Bab] or one of the Letters of the Living, you must purify yourself absolutely, to such an extent that, if you become aware of a hair too many on your body, it is not seemly for you. Put on your purest clothes — not [necessarily] the greatest in value — even should you wear an old, pure, goodly, fine, clean shirt, such that you know not of even a speck of black from a mosquito on it. And if you are aware of such, it is not seemly for you. And when you find yourself in that most glorious, noble and exalted condition, put on [your finger] a ring of red cornelian, which shall be your guide in this path before your Lord, the Majestic, and in your appearing before God upon the Throne of Majesty."¹⁴⁸ Detailed instructions for purifications, prayers and so forth to be used in the course of a *ziyara* to the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsi may be found in the *ziyaratnama* for the martyrs killed there.¹⁴⁹

The basic rite for a pilgrimage of this type would appear to be, as in Shi'ism, the reading of a "tablet of visitation" (*ziyaratnama*). One of the earliest works of the Bab was a *ziyaratnama* for the Imam 'Ali,¹⁵⁰ and he continued to write large numbers of these works,¹⁵¹ including a *Ziyāra jāmi'a al-kabīra* (tablet of visitation for all the Imams),¹⁵² and *ziyaras* for the Babi martyrs of Shaykh Tabarsi.¹⁵³ A manuscript (6007.C) in the Baha'i Archives in Tehran contains no fewer than 31 *ziyaras* belonging to the Bab's later period, including tablets for Mulla Husayn Bushru'i ("the first to believe" — *awwal man āmana*) and other Letters of the Living. A *ziyaratnama* written for the chief of the Letters of the Living, Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Barfurushi Quddus, is included in translation in Appendix IV. In addition to the *ziyaras* for himself and the Letters of the Living, the Bab also decreed that, after his death, the believers should recite 95 times the phrase "God is Most Great" or "God is Most Mighty", and that they should restrict themselves to five repetitions of *Allahu akbar* for the Letters of the Living.¹⁵⁴

A restricted form of *ziyara* is ordained in the *Bayān* for the inhabitants of Tabriz ("the place of the striking" — a reference to the bastinado inflicted on the Bab there in 1848) and for those living in its environs to a distance of 66 *farsakhs* (about 396 kilometres) who are over the age of 29 (his age at the time of the bastinado). They are to travel to the scene of the bastinado once a year and to remain there for 19 days (one Babi month), during which time they must practise self-purification (*takhlīṣ*). On the spot itself, they are commanded to perform a *salat* of five *rak'at*. Whoever is unable to make the journey is required to carry out these instructions in his own house.¹⁵⁵

In another version, this rite is made incumbent on all believers, consisting of two *rak'at*, followed by invocations, the uncovering of the head, sitting on the ground without sandals, and the removal of all clothing (except, I should think, that covering the private parts). They are not to leave before 19 days have elapsed, remaining in meditational seclusion (*i'tikāf*) and praising God. A prayer is given by the Bab to be said on leaving Tabriz.¹⁵⁶

7 Ritual purity and impurity

The concepts of purity (*ṭahāra*) and impurity (*najās al-janāba*) are of considerable importance in Shi'ism, and at the beginning of his career the Bab wrote more than once on their legal definitions. The *Risāla furū' al-'adliyya* (chapters one and two) and a short work entitled *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* (The Book of Purity) contain detailed discussions of ritual cleanliness before *salat* and the agencies which may render the individual free from a state of impurity. Thus, in the latter work 11 impure items (*najāsāt*) are listed, which may affect prayer by being present on one's clothes or body, on the part of the forehead touching the ground

in prostration (*al-masjad al-jabha*), in mosques or on copies of the Qur'an, or in the holy shrines. They are: urine; excrement; blood; semen; a dead body; a dog; a roast pig or part of it; intoxicating liquor; fermented raisins or dates (*zabib*); an unbeliever (*mushrik* or *kāfir*); and an apostate (*murtadd*). Ten purifying agents are then mentioned, including water, earth and the sun.¹⁵⁷

In the *Risāla furū' al-'adliyya*, a somewhat different list is given of the causes of impurity, being ten in number: sleep; unconsciousness; illness causing unawareness; urine; faeces; semen; the state of menstruation; menstrual discharge; a woman up to 40 days after childbirth; and touching the dead body of a believer after the body is cold and before it is washed.¹⁵⁸ Directions are then given for ablutions (*wudu'* and *ghusl*) to cleanse the individual from these impurities, whether by the use of water or of earth.¹⁵⁹ Further instructions are given concerning the method of determining whether water is pure, and it is stipulated that certain things may render it unclean: anything from the hand of an unbeliever or one who denies the Imams or who does not believe in the twelfth Imam (*baqiyyat Allah*), urine, faeces, animals whose flesh is interdicted, dead bodies, whatever has not been rendered lawful by the recitation of the name of God over it, blood, dogs, wine, pigs and anything else declared *najis* by the Imams.¹⁶⁰ Water that has been thus polluted may again be rendered pure by various agents — the sun, earth, the removal of an animal, alteration, circulation, the blood of the Imams, and "those things which have fallen beneath the gaze of the Family of God".¹⁶¹ The Bab himself states that, although none of the '*ulama'* has mentioned this last agent, the decision about it rests with him (as the *nā'ib* — representative — of the Imam).

It is of interest to note that, when the *Risāla furū' al-'adliyya* reached Karbala, Qurrat al-'Ayn (the female leader of the Babis there) read this last instruction, whereupon she claimed to be the manifestation of Fatima and said that "the glance of my eye has the same effect as that of hers, and whatever I cast my glance upon shall be made pure". She then instructed her followers to bring whatever they brought in the bazaar to her, so that she might render it lawful.¹⁶² This is of particular interest in indicating that many of the Babis in this early period regarded their Shi'i fellow-citizens as impure because of their unbelief.

In his later works, although he does not enter into such precise details as in those of the early period, the Bab continues to exhibit a marked concern for ritual purity and physical cleanliness, the demarcation between the two often being blurred. In general, it is probably fair to say that the Bab places less emphasis on ritual purity (which he makes less particular) and greater emphasis on bodily hygiene and related matters than the Shi'i '*ulama'*. Thus, "nothing in the *Bayān* is loved more by God than purity, delicacy, and cleanliness",¹⁶³ and again: "In

the *Bayān*, God does not like to behold for anyone aught save joy and fragrance. He loves all to be in the utmost purity, both spiritual (*ma'nawī*) and physical (*ṣūrī*), in whatever state they be in, that they may not be disgusting to their own selves, how much less to anyone else."¹⁶⁴

Various purifying agents are mentioned by the Bab in his later works. In the Persian *Bayān*, he lists eight of these: (1) Belief in the *Bayān*; (2) The book of God or a verse of it; (3) The name of God, to be spoken over the thing to be purified 66 times, using the phrase "God is the Most Pure" (*Allāhu aṭhar*); (4) The act of passing from the hands of non-Babis into those of believers; (5) The Tree of Truth (i.e. himself) and its works; (6) The four elements (air, fire, water, earth); (7) The sun; and (8) Anything that has undergone an alteration of essence.¹⁶⁵ In the *Haykal al-dīn*, he lists these agents as: (1) The recitation of "God is Most Pure" 66 times; (2) Whatever has been sent down in the *Bayān*; (3) Whoever enters the faith; (4) Whatever has changed in essence; (5) The sun, the moon and the stars; (6) Fire and air; and (7) Water and earth.¹⁶⁶ And in the Arabic *Bayān*, he lists the following: (1) The recitation of "God is the Most Pure" 66 times; (2) The Point (i.e. himself) and whatever verses he writes; (3) His words; (4) Whoever enters the faith; (5) Whatever changes its essence; (6) The four elements; and (7) The sun.¹⁶⁷ According to the Persian *Bayān*, all of these purify whenever the object to be rendered pure is not in its essence impure (as, for example, ■ pig).¹⁶⁸ All things are regarded as pure except those who do not believe in the *Bayān* and whatever is expressly forbidden.¹⁶⁹

A number of things are specified as pure, including some which had been regarded as doubtful or impure in Islam. These are: dogs and other animals, even if their fur is wet;¹⁷⁰ blood in the mouth after the use of a toothbrush or toothpick; the foot of an animal which has been in the rain and which enters a room;¹⁷¹ (in respect of someone who wishes to pray) the hair of animals, European objects, ivory and bone handles;¹⁷² semen;¹⁷³ the faeces of a child up to the age of two;¹⁷⁴ the excreta of animals in general;¹⁷⁵ more specifically, that of mice, bats or owls (*abābil*).¹⁷⁶ The wearing of silk and the use of gold and silver vessels, regarded as unlawful in Islam, is permitted by the Bab.¹⁷⁷

Nevertheless, *wudu'* or ritual cleansing is still recommended in a number of circumstances. After meals (which are to be eaten in the position known as *haykal al-tawhid*), if one wishes to pray, it is necessary to perform *wudu'*, washing both face and arms and wiping them with a silk cloth, this to be done while in the *haykal al-tawhid* posture, with clean water (such as rose water). If there is no water, five repetitions of the phrase "In the name of God" will suffice for the *wudu'*.¹⁷⁸ Nocturnal emissions and masturbated semen (*mā tashhadūna*

fi 'l-ru'yā aw antum bi-anfusikum 'an anfusikum tastamaniyūn) are not a cause of impurity, but it is necessary to perform *wudu'* after sexual intercourse. After the *wudu'*, one is to prostrate oneself (or, according to the *Haykal al-dīn*, to sit with one's wife) and to repeat 19 times: "Praise be to Thee, O my God; there is no god but Thee; praise be to Thee; I am one of those who prostrate themselves." This is sufficient if there is no water, and it also suffices to wash the head, chest, arms and legs after the *wudu'*.¹⁷⁹

Similarly, the complex Islamic regulation concerning the purity of water in wells and the rule of *kurr* (the largest amount of water which can be rendered impure by a dog or whatever) is abolished by the Bab, a single rule covering both large and small quantities of water. Water is pure in itself provided it has not changed in any of its three basic qualities: colour, smell or taste.¹⁸⁰ To pour water twice on something that has been rendered unclean (but is not in its nature unclean) suffices to make it pure again; to dip the object once in water is sufficient for this purpose, provided the water is not of such little quantity as to excite one's disgust.¹⁸¹ If water should be altered by something impure, it may not be used for purification, but something pure will not render water impure, even if it changes its character.¹⁸² Water which has been mixed with earth is not regarded as water which has been added to (*mudāf*), with which purification is not permitted. Nothing is more loved by God than to keep water in a state of the utmost purity, to such an extent that, if a believer becomes aware that a cup of water has been placed on an impure spot, he will be grieved. But it is made clear that "God does not like anyone to be minute in matters of purity, which will lead to what will in the end cause harm to that individual; rather, the believer is too glorious for anything to change him. Nay, all the instructions regarding purity have been given that men may be educated to the degree of delicacy and purity, to such an extent that no one may be disgusted by anything in himself, how much less in another."¹⁸³ The true meaning of purity is to cleanse oneself of all that does not pertain to God.¹⁸⁴

8 Rites of birth, death and marriage

A special form of *salat* is indicated by the Bab in the case of the birth of a child. This consists of five *takbirs* (i.e. recitals of the phrase *Allahu akbar*, "God is Most Great"), the first followed by the repetition 19 times of the phrase "We all, verily, believe in God" (*innā kullun bi'llāhi mu'minūn*) the second by 19 "We all, verily, are certain of God" (*mūqinūn*), the third by 19 "We all, verily, live through God" (*muhayyūn*), the fourth by 19 "We all, verily, die through God" (*mumayyitūn*), and the fifth by 19 "We all, verily, are content with God" (*rāḍiyūn*).¹⁸⁵ The ritual as given in the Arabic *Bayān* differs somewhat from this. Thus, the words "God is Most Mighty" (*Allahu*

a'zam) are to be repeated five times, while standing. The following phrases are to be repeated 19 times, one after each *ta'zim*: (1) "We all, verily, believe in God"; (2) "We all, verily, are certain of God"; (3) "We all, verily, originate with God" (*mubdi'ūn*); (4) "We all, verily, return to God" (*mu'idūn*) (*sic*); (5) "We all, verily, are content with God".¹⁸⁶ I have already mentioned above the instruction to prepare an amulet with 2001 names to the number of *mustaghath*, which is to be given to a child at birth and never removed from that time forth. Suitable names for children are suggested by the Bab in a number of places.¹⁸⁷

Extremely similar to the *salat* prescribed for the birth of a child is the prayer decreed for the dead, which is, in fact, the only prayer which may be said congregationally.¹⁸⁸ The greater the number present, the more pleasing it is to God, but no one is to lead the prayer; all are to remain in their places and not to seek to stand in front of others.¹⁸⁹ The *salat* consists of six *takbirs*, the first followed by 19 repetitions of "We all, verily, worship God" (*'ābidūn*), the second by 19 "We all, verily, bow down before God" (*sājidūn*), the third by 19 "We all, verily, are satisfied with God" (*qānitūn*), the fourth by "We all, verily, make mention of God" (*dhākirūn*), the fifth by "We all, verily, give thanks unto God" (*shākirūn*), and the sixth by "We all, verily, are patient in God" (*ṣābirūn*).¹⁹⁰ The version of this *salat* given in the Arabic *Bayān* is again different. Six *ta'zims* are to be said over the dead, then the following phrases are repeated 19 times: (1) "We all, verily, worship God" (2) "We all, verily, bow down before God" (3) "We all, verily, are satisfied with God" (4) "We all, verily, act on behalf of God" (*'āmilūn*); (5) "We all, verily, are devoted unto God" (*mukhlisūn*); (6) "We all, verily, give praise unto God" (*ḥāmidūn*).¹⁹¹

Directions concerning the washing and burial of the dead are given in detail in the Persian *Bayān*. The corpse is to be washed once, three or five times, in the following manner: (1) The head, while saying "O Single One" (*yā fard*); (2) The chest and belly, while saying "O Living One" (*yā hayy*); (3) The right arm, while saying "O Self-subsisting One" (*yā qayyum*); (4) The left arm, while saying "O Judging One" (*yā hakam*); (5) The right leg, while saying "O Just One" (*yā 'adl*); (6) The left leg, while saying "O Holy One" (*yā quddus*).¹⁹² The names of God used here are the "six names" which have been mentioned in connection with the *da'irat* (see Appendix III). The body is to be washed with water or purified with camphor and lotus (*sidr*) and, if possible, washed again with rose water or other perfumed water, then wrapped in five shrouds of any material. These shrouds may have written (?embroidered) on them any names of God, up to, but not exceeding, 19.¹⁹³ On the right hand a ring is to be placed, with the following inscription if the deceased is a man: "Unto God belongs all that is in the heavens and the

earth and what is between them; God is informed of all things." If the deceased is a woman: "To God belongs the dominion of the heavens and the earth and what is between them; God is powerful over all things."¹⁹⁴ These verses are given differently in the Arabic *Bayān*. Thus, on a man's ring should be written: "Unto God belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth and what is between them; God is Most Knowing, Powerful, Inaccessible." And on a woman's: "Unto God belongs the dominion of the heavens and the earth and what is between them; God is Most Knowing, Powerful, Inaccessible."¹⁹⁵ In the *Haykal al-dīn*, it is directed that two rings be placed on the hands of the dead, without distinction between male and female. On the right-hand ring is to be inscribed: "We are all, verily, God's, and we all, verily, begin in God"; and, on the left: "We are all, verily, from Him and we shall all, verily, return to Him."¹⁹⁶ The rings used for the dead are to be of cornelian.¹⁹⁷

The dead are to be placed in coffins or tombs of crystal or marble or polished stone,¹⁹⁸ and an amount of dust from the graves of "the first and the last" — presumably the first and last Letters of the Living, Mulla Muhammad Husayn Bushru'i and Mulla Muhammad 'Alī Barfurushi Quddus — is to be buried with them.¹⁹⁹ Relatives of the deceased are to visit their graves at least once every 19 days, or more often if possible and, if they can, stay by the grave for 19 days, reciting the divine verses and lighting lamps.²⁰⁰ The Islamic mourning rites, involving tearing of one's clothes and beating of the body, are prohibited by the Bab.²⁰¹

Marriage is ordained by the Bab at the age of 11, the age of maturity, for both male and female.²⁰² It is conditional on the payment of a dowry, the limits of which are set down in the *Bayān*, and on the consent of both parties, although it is obligatory for parents to marry their children at this age if they can.²⁰³ The marriage rite is basically very simple. According to the Persian *Bayān*, the man, having paid the requisite dowry, is to repeat the verse "Verily, I belong to God, the Lord of the heavens and the Lord of the earth, the Lord of all things, the Lord of the seen and the unseen, the Lord of the worlds." The woman is then to do the same, after which they are to put their seals on a sheet of paper, the whole process to be formally observed by witnesses on behalf of both parties, preferably relatives.²⁰⁴ The rite as given in the Arabic *Bayān* and the *Haykal al-dīn* differs somewhat from the above. In the former, the instruction is that the couple should place their seals on the contract²⁰⁵ and then say the words (presumably one after the other): "Verily, we are content with God."²⁰⁶ In the latter work, the details are clearer. The woman is to say first the words: "Verily, we are content with God" (using the feminine form) and then to place her seal on the contract.²⁰⁷ Then the man is to repeat this phrase (in the masculine

form, but different from that in the Arabic *Bayān*)²⁰⁸ and to place his seal on the contract. After this, the witnesses (whose number is not specified) are to place their seals on the contract, the men placing 60 seals beneath that of the groom, the women 95 seals beneath that of the bride. The next phrase is unclear and exists in two readings, but seems to mean that the marriage should be consummated after this.²⁰⁹

9 Festivals

As has already been mentioned, the Bab reformed the calendar, introducing a solar year of 19 months, each of 19 days (details of this calendar are given in Appendix V).²¹⁰ However, he did not indicate any festivals, with the exception of Naw-Rūz, the old Iranian New Year's Day, which falls on 21 or 22 March.²¹¹ This is described as the day of "there is no god but God" and is compared to the Point (*nuqṭa*) in the *Bayān*.²¹² It is also known as the "Day of God", on which goodly acts will receive the recompense due to the same acts performed for the period of one year.²¹³ On the night of Naw-Ruz (i.e. the night preceding it, in Western terms), it is permitted to recite the following verse 361 times: "God has borne witness that there is no god but Him, the Protector, the Self-subsistent" and, during the day, the same number of times: "God has borne witness that there is no god but Him, the Mighty, the Beloved" — or any other verse beginning with "God has borne witness" and mentioning His power.²¹⁴ Those who, during Naw-Ruz, recite "there is no god but God" (*tawḥīd kunad khudā-rā*) 361 times will be protected during the coming year from "whatsoever may descend from the heaven of destiny".²¹⁵ The Arabic *Bayān* only mentions the second of the above verses, but adds that, during the night of Naw-Ruz one is to enumerate the benefits of God from 19 to 2001 times.²¹⁶ In the *Haykal al-dīn*, the Bab instructs his followers to mention God 361 times during Naw-Ruz, apparently using any phrase they wish,²¹⁷ and to count God's blessings during the night 19 times (or up to 2001 times for kings).²¹⁸ At the time when the sun actually enters the sign of Aries, it is permitted to serve from 19 to 2001 plates of food (whereas it is normally permitted to serve only one at a time).²¹⁹

The first month, Bahā', is regarded as the most important of the year. The first day, as noted above, is the "day of the Point", while the other 18 days are sacred to the 18 Letters of the Living.²²⁰ Similarly, the first month is regarded as the "month of the Point", especially dedicated to him whom God shall manifest, and the other months as those of the Letters of the Living.²²¹ In the *Haykal al-dīn*, it is stipulated that the second month of each year (or another, if one wishes) is to be devoted to the mention of God.²²² There do not, however, appear to be any rituals connected with the months in these contexts, apart from the invocations for each day of the month mentioned earlier. Once a month,

each believer is expected to invite as guests 19 individuals, even if he is able to serve them only water.²²³ Although this does not in itself involve or constitute a particular ritual, it is important as the basis for the later Baha'i "Nineteen-Day Feast" (see below, p. 65).

Friday is reserved, not as a day of congregational prayer, as in Islam, but as a day for listening to sermons.²²⁴ The formal sermon (*khutba*) is to be followed by impassioned preaching (*maw'izā*) and by mention of him whom God shall manifest.²²⁵ These Friday gatherings are to be held in the mosques which the Bab ordered constructed.²²⁶ The use of a pulpit is prohibited, this being replaced by a chair or, in a large gathering, a chair placed on a platform to enable all present to hear.²²⁷ Sermons are also to be given on "the days of glory and sadness"²²⁸ — presumably commemorations of joyful or sad events in the Babi calendar; but these days are nowhere specified by the Bab.

10 Rites connected with him whom God shall manifest (*man yuzhiruhu 'llah*)

Many of the rituals listed in the above pages are connected indirectly by the Bab with the messianic figure of the *Bayān*, him whom God shall manifest — thus, by performing such and such an act, it is hoped that the believer will enter into the presence of *man yuzhiruhu 'llah* when he appears and that he will believe in him. Similarly, as we have seen, there are invocations of him whom God shall manifest, there is a month dedicated to him, and there is to be mention of him during the Friday gatherings. But there are also three quasi-rituals connected specifically with him. The first is that, whenever his name is mentioned, all present are to stand.²²⁹ The second is that, whenever his name or the names of his Letters of the Living are mentioned, the believers are to bless them (by saying "May God bless him/them and preserve him/them"). This is also to be done on hearing the names of the Bab or his Letters of the Living.²³⁰ If their names are being repeated constantly, one phrase of blessing will be sufficient.²³¹ The third is that, in every important gathering 19 places are to be left vacant in case he whom God shall manifest and his Letters should appear.²³² In the Arabic *Bayān*, it is stated that this is only necessary in large gatherings, and that it normally suffices to leave one place vacant.²³³

11 Ritualism in scriptural texts

In view of the extensive references which will be made to incantatory texts in the section on Baha'i ritual, it may be worth mentioning here the important part played by the style of many of the Bab's writings in creating a generally ritual atmosphere, even when specific rites are not being carried out. The rhyming prose (*saj'*) of the Qur'an, which

possesses a vibrant, incantatory quality most marked in the earliest *suras*, has led to considerable stress being laid in Islam on the chanting of its verses, on sacred occasions and at gatherings convened simply for that purpose. The rhyming, rhythmical cadences of the Qur'an are clearly reproduced in many of the Bab's early works, most notably the *Qayyūm al-asmā'*. In certain later works, however, the Bab goes beyond this familiar style to produce lengthy passages, consisting largely of invocations of God by an infinitude of names (many of them quite unheard of in Arabic, although based on theoretical patterns), in which content is entirely secondary to the all-important incantatory style, a style quite unreplicable in any European language. Most notable for this characteristic are the *Kitāb al-asmā'* and the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n* (*Shu'un-i khamṣa*), in which variation after variation is played on the names of God. Chanted by an expert, I have no doubt that these passages, curious as they are on the written page, would prove extremely compelling, even hypnotic. I provide an example of this style from the *Panj sha'n* in Appendix VI.

BABI RITUAL PRACTICE

Little can be said of Babi practice in ritual matters. The early Babis were often exceedingly ignorant of the tenets and laws of their religion, particularly the uneducated in Zanjan and elsewhere in the later years of the Bab's career. The Bab's isolation and the scattered and beleaguered condition of the mass of his followers from about 1848 meant that the later Babi texts, such as the *Bayāns*, were little read and their contents only partially known.²³⁴ Collation of the varying decrees spread over different volumes was, of course, quite impossible. Babi writing of this period and that immediately succeeding, such as the *Kitāb-i nuqṭat al-kāf*, shows that considerable doctrinal diversity existed, and there is every reason to believe that Babi practice, unregulated and unco-ordinated, was seldom fully or at all in accordance with the code of the *Bayān*. During the struggle at Shaykh Tabarsi, from 1848 to 1849, for example, some of the Babis looked on their leader, Mulla Muhammad 'Alī Barfurushi Quddus, as the *qibla* and faced in his direction when performing *salat*; on the night of the 'Id al-Qurban, Mulla Husayn Bushru'i and others performed circumambulation around the house of Quddus — a practice which they continued on other nights.²³⁵ When we consider that a fair number of those present at Tabarsi were '*ulama*' and that no fewer than half of the Bab's earliest disciples, the Letters of the Living, were among them, it is not difficult to conjecture the nature of Babi ritual observance in Zanjan, Nayriz, Tehran, Qazvin and elsewhere. The *Nuqṭat al-kāf* mentions that the Babis in Zanjan prayed five times each night "in a new manner", and at each of the ramparts one individual would chant the phrase "God is

Most Glorious" (*Allahu abha*) 92 times (the equivalent of the name Muhammad).²³⁶

After the relative recovery of the now decimated Babi communities from the setbacks of 1848–52, access to texts remained difficult and much was destroyed or corrupted. Even with widespread copying of the Persian *Bayān* and other late works, no attempt seems to have been made to systematize Babi law and ritual or to correlate the varying regulations which, as we have seen, are often confused or contradictory or, in a number of cases, in need of commentary. More importantly, the failure of the Babis to develop a well-defined organization, coupled with a lack of positive leadership, meant that no overall policy could be formulated in respect of ritual practice. The majority of Babis, from about 1866 onwards, gave their allegiance to Mirza Husayn 'Ali Nuri Baha' Allah, under whom a new religious system, with its own legal and ritual prescriptions, came into existence — this will form the subject of the second part of our study. But the remainder (with the exception of a small group of Kullu Shay'i Babis in Shiraz), who attempted to preserve Babism in its original form under the leadership of Mirza Yahya Nuri Subh-i Azal, lacked the doctrinal and organizational coherence of the major group. Azal seems to have been unable to extricate Babism from the state of doctrinal anarchy into which it fell in the period immediately following the death of the Bab in 1850, as is clear from Azali works such as the *Hasht bihisht*. The breakdown of any clear authority in Azali Babism after the death of Mirza Yahya in 1912 meant that the small and poorly organized community of Babis in Iran failed to formulate any definite policy on matters of doctrine, law or ritual. The only effort in this direction known to the present writer is the anonymous *Á'in-i Bāb*, a short work which falls far short of comprehensiveness or systematic presentation. It is likely that the major rituals of the Persian and Arabic *Bayāns* continue to be observed, where possible, by the Azalis today, but undoubtedly many of the more complex regulations have been allowed to fall into abeyance, while those which would demand greater religious freedom (or ■ Babi state), such as the *hajj*, are clearly impossible to perform properly.

2 BABI RITUAL OBSERVANCES

1. *Qayyūm al-asmā'*, CUL, Browne Oriental Ms. F.11, f.185b.
2. *Ṣaḥīfa-yi 'adliyya* (n.p. n.d.), pp.5-6.
3. Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Zunūzī, *Risāla* quoted in Mirzā Asad Allāh Fāḍil-i Māzandarānī, *Kitāb-i zuḥūr al-ḥaqq*, III (n.p. n.d.), pp.31-2.
4. *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Tāhira Qurrat al-'Ayn* (appended to Tabrizī, *Tārīkh-i Mu'in al-Saltana*, INBA, Ms. 19), p.6.
5. The two main mss. used by me are CUL, Add. 3704 (6) and INBA, 6009.C. For details, see MacEoin, *Sources*, pp.59-60.
6. The two mss. used by me are INBA, 5006.C, pp.262-78, and 6007.C, pp.413-52. See MacEoin, *Sources*, pp.64-5.
7. The three mss. used by me are INBA, 3006.C, pp.148-82; 5010.C, pp.82-166, and 6011.C pp.81-120. See MacEoin, *Sources*, pp.68-71.
8. The ms. used by me (and the only one known to me) is INBA, 5010.C, pp.166-75.
9. The principal ms. used by me is CUL, Browne Or. Ms. F.7. See MacEoin, *Sources*, pp.60-61.
10. *Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*, pp.27-37.
11. *Ibid*, pp.46-8.
12. *Ibid*, pp.55-8, 64-6.
13. *Ibid*, pp.84-96.
14. *Ibid*, pp.96-101.
15. *Ibid*, pp.101-22.
16. *Ibid*, pp.66-84.
17. See MacEoin, *Sources*, pp.90-91.

18. *Bayān-i Fārsī* (n.p. n.d.), *Wāḥid* 8, *bāb* 6, hereafter given as 8:6 (p.286).
19. *Ibid*, 6:5 (p.196).
20. *Ibid*, 6:11 (p.217), 7:11 (p.253).
21. *Ibid*, 6:19 (p.237).
22. *Ibid*, 6:3 (p.192).
23. *Ibid*, 6:14 (p.229).
24. *Ibid*, 7:6 (p.246).
25. *Al-Bayān al-'Arabī* (n.p. n.d.), 10:15.
26. See 'A. F. (? 'Alī Frahvashtī), *Ā'in-i Bāb* (n.p. n.d.), p.93 fn.
27. *B.A.*, 7:19 (p.32); *Haykal al-dīn*, published with *ibid*, 7:19 (p.31); *B.F.*, 7:19 (p.272).
28. *H.D.*, 7:19 (p.31).
29. *B.F.*, 7:19 (p.270). On these four unities, see Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī, *Sharḥ al-ziyāra al-jāmi'a al-kabīra* (Tehran 1267/1850–51), Pt.1, pp.72–3; *idem*, *Ḥayāt al-naḥs*, trans. Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī, 2nd. ed. (Kirman 1353/1974–5), p.37; Ḥājji Mirzā Jānī Kāshānī, *Kitāb-i Nuqtat al-kāf*, ed. E. G. Browne (Leiden and London 1910), p.23.
30. *B.F.*, 7:19 (p.272).
31. *Ibid*, 9:9 (p.324).
32. *B.A.*, 5:2 (p.18), *H.D.*, 5:2 (p.5), 4:12, 13 (p.16).
33. *B.A.*, 9:9 (p.42).
34. *B.F.*, 8:8 (p.289).
35. *B.A.*, 8:7 (p.34), c.f. *H.D.*, 8:7 (p.33).
36. On Bushrū'ī and Barfurushī, see D. MacEoin, Bošrū'ī, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IV, p.383 and Bārforūšī, *ibid*, III, p.794; *idem*, articles in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., VII, pp.422, 440–41.
37. *B.A.*, 10:8 (p.47).
38. *Ibid*, 8:7 (p.34). Cf. Trimmingham, p.213, on *tawajjuh* to the *shaykh* and the Prophet as to the *qibla*.
39. *B.A.*, 11:14 (pp.59–60).
40. *Ibid*, 11:15 (p.60).
41. *Ibid*, 8:10 (pp.35–6).
42. *H.D.*, 8:10 (p.34). The verse given is corrupt in this and an alternative text (where it reads: *subḥān Allāh al-ilāhu dhī aydānī*[?]); the last word may possibly have originally been *al-ayādī*.
43. *B.A.*, 8:10 (p.35): *dhī 'l-ṭal'a wa'l-jamāl*; compare with *H.D.*, 8:10 (p.34): *dhī 'l-wajh wa'l-jamāl*.
44. *B.F.*, 8:16 (p.301).
45. *Ibid*, 7:17 (p.263) and see p.264. The Arabic *Bayān* gives this same verse (7:17, p.31) with one small change.
46. *H.D.*, 7:17 (p.31). A much longer salutation to the rising sun may be found in CUL, Browne Or. Ms. F.23, item 64.
47. This term is used throughout the *Bayān* to designate the messianic figure whose future appearance the Bab foretold. For details, see Browne's introduction to Kāshānī, *Nuqtat al-kāf*, pp.xxiv–xxvi, xxix–xxx.
48. These are the first 18 individuals to believe in a prophet and constitute with him, in Babi terminology, a *wāḥid* or unity; 19 unities form 361, the number of "all things" (*kullu shay*). On the Babi *ḥurūf al-ḥayy* and their

- metaphysical significance, see Denis MacEoin, *From Shaykhism to Babism: a study in charismatic renewal in Shi'ī Islam*, Ph.D., University of Cambridge, 1979, pp. 142–6.
49. *B.F.*, 8:19 (p.309). The text mentions “the evening and the day of Friday” (i.e. Thursday evening and Friday up to sunset, since the Islamic and Babi day begins at sundown), but it is not clear whether the *dhikr* is to be performed once or twice.
 50. *Ibid.* For the numerical value of the letters of the Arabic alphabet, see G. Krotkoff, *Abjad*, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, pp.221–2.
 51. *B.A.*, 6:19 (p.40).
 52. The names are very confused in this text, however: Husayn, ‘Ali, Muhammad, then Hadi, Mahdi, ‘Ali, Muhammad ‘Ali and Hasan.
 53. *H.D.*, 1:6–15 (pp.2–4).
 54. *B.A.*, 8:13 (p.37); *H.D.*, 8:14 (p.35).
 55. *B.F.*, 5:17 (p.180). A prayer for daily use may be found in CUL, Browne Or. Ms. F.23, ff.177a–182b.
 56. *B.A.*, 5:17 (p.21).
 57. *H.D.*, 5:17 (p.8).
 58. *Chahār sha’n*, 11:8, in ‘A. F., *Ā’in-i Bāb*, p.91.
 59. *B.F.*, 9:4 (pp.317–18).
 60. *H.D.*, 8:7 (p.33).
 61. *B.F.*, 6:1 (p.184).
 62. *Ibid.*, 8:14 (p.296); *B.A.*, 8:14 (p.37).
 63. *B.F.*, 5:8 (pp.162–4). The Arabic *Bayān* gives this same verse, with the one change “. . . I associate *nothing* with God my Lord”, *B.A.*, 5:8 (pp.19–20).
 64. *H.D.*, 5:8 (p.7).
 65. *B.F.*, 7:2 (pp.240–41).
 66. The Bab maintains that, in theory, the names of God relating to each attribute total seven. Thus, in respect of the attribute of oneness (*tawhīd*), God may be named in seven degrees: *Awḥad*, *Waḥḥād*, *Wāḥid*, *Wahīd*, *Mutawaḥḥid*, *Mawḥid*, and *Muwahḥad* (*ibid.*, 8:2, p.273).
 67. *Ibid.*
 68. *Ibid.*, 5:9 (pp.164–5). The choice of name or names to be used is dependent on the component letters of the name of the object. Thus, when the believer contemplates the word *sang* (stone), composed of three letters — “s”, “n” and “k” (or “g” in modern Persian), he should think of the names *subbūh* (the all-praised), *nūr* (light) and *karīm* (the generous).
 69. *B.A.*, 9:15 (p.43).
 70. *B.F.*, 5:10 (p.166).
 71. *B.A.*, 10:11 (pp.47–8).
 72. *B.F.*, 6:5 (p.196); *B.A.*, 6:4 (p.24).
 73. *H.D.*, 6:4 (p.22).
 74. *B.A.*, 9:19 (p.44).
 75. *Ibid.*, 11:1 (pp.53–4).
 76. The bulk of the following section is taken from my earlier article, *Nineteenth-century Bābī talismans*, *Studia Iranica* 14/i (1985), pp.77–98. On the early claims of the Bab, see also MacEoin, *From Shaykhism to*

- Babism, chap. 5; *idem*, Early Shaykhī Reactions to the Bāb and his Claims, in M. Momen (ed.), *Studies in Bābī and Bahā'ī History*, I (Los Angeles 1983), pp.16–19; and Amelia L. Danesh, Some reflections on the different meanings of the word “Bāb”, *The Journal of Bahā'ī Studies* 2/iii (1989–90), pp.45–53.
77. See *B.F.*, 2:9 (p.44): “How often has that same locus of the Universal Will (*mazhar-i mashiyyat-i kulliyya*) opened up a gate of mystic knowledge (*ma'rifa*) in the Interworld (*barzakh*).” On Karim Khan Kirmani's ideas regarding the availability of knowledge in the interworld, see M. Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent: Socioreligious thought in Qajar Iran* (Syracuse 1982), pp.75, 77. On the Shaykhī concept of *hurqalya*, see H. Corbin, *Terre Celeste et Corps de Resurrection* (Paris 1960), *passim* (see index).
 78. On Ibn al-‘Arabī's theory of the soul being able to know its own *qadar* in its archetype when in a state of *kashf*, see T. Izutzu, *A Comparative Study of the Key Philosophical Concepts in Sufism and Taoism. Part One: The Ontology of Ibn al-‘Arabī* (Tokyo 1966), pp.73–4.
 79. *Kitāb-i panj sha'n* (n.p. n.d.). This book derives its name from the “five grades” in which the Bab wrote his works, these being *āyāt* (Qur’anic-style “verses”), *munājāt* (prayers), *khutba* (homilies), *tafsir* (commentaries) and *Fārsī* (Persian-language writings): see *B.F.*, 3:17 (p.102), 6:1 (p.184), 9:2 (p.313), where *suwar* ‘ilmiyya (scientific treatises) replace *khutba*. The last five sections of the *Kitāb-i panj sha'n* (which were addressed to Mirza Asad Allah Khu'i Dayyan) seem to have been distributed independently and to have been variously named the *Lawḥ-i hurūfāt*, *Risāla-yi Ja'fariyya*, and *Kitāb-i haykal* (or *hayākil*): see D. M. MacEoin, The Identity of the Bāb's *Lawḥ-i hurūfāt*, *Bahā'ī Studies Bulletin* 2/i (June 1983), pp.78–9; *idem*, *Sources*, pp.88–90.
 80. *Panj sha'n*, p.405.
 81. Text reads *mastūr*, but on analogy with the recurring phrase ‘ilm *maknūn makhzūn*, I prefer to read *mastūr*.
 82. *Panj sha'n*, p.405.
 83. *Nuqṭa-yi Bayān*: the manifestation of the Universal Will is the “Point” from which all things originate, like a line of writing from an initial dot, and is the essence of the divine word in each era. Thus, Jesus was the “Point of the Gospel”, Muhammad the “Point of the Qur’an”, and the Bab the “Point of the Bayan”. The Bab is more frequently referred to as *Nuqṭa-yi Ūlā*, the “Primal Point”.
 84. *Panj sha'n*, pp.446–7.
 85. *Ibid*, p.447; cf. p.434.
 86. A useful summary of this subject may be found in A. L. M. Nicolas (trans.), *Le Bēyan Persan*, 4 vols. (Paris 1911–14), I, pp.7–9, fn.2.
 87. *B.F.*, 2:1 (pp.14–15).
 88. *Panj sha'n*, p.412. In fact, the fourth *bāb* was the eighteenth, if we count Muhammad, Fatima and twelve Imams.
 89. *Dalā'il-i sab'a* (n.p. n.d.), pp.45–6. See also *Panj sha'n*, pp.422–3.
 90. *Panj sha'n*, pp.406–11.
 91. *Ibid*, p.407. On the “*wāḥid* without numbers” contrasted with the “*wāḥid* with numbers”, see p.409.

92. *Ibid*, p.408.
93. *Ibid*. See also Appendix II.
94. *Ibid*, p.428.
95. *Ibid*, p.447; cf. p.434.
96. *Ibid*, p.423.
97. *Ibid*, p.437.
98. Mirzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Zunūzī, quoted by Māzandarānī, *Kitāb-i zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, III, pp.31–2.
99. Cited by M. A. Fayḍī, *Ḥaḍrat-i Nuqṭa-yi Ūlā* (Tehran 132 B.E./1975–6), pp.53–4.
100. *Ṣaḥīfa bayna ‘l-ḥaramayn*, CUL, Browne Or. Ms. F.7, chap. 2, pp.27–37. Two forms of talisman (*ṭilism*; *haykal*) are referred to: rectangular (*shikl al-tarbī‘*) and triangular (*shikl al-tathlīth*) — see p.28. This latter would seem from the description on p.30 (which says it should not be regarded as resembling a Christian cross) to be identical to the pentagram talisman which the Bab later made the Babi *haykal* proper.
101. *Panj sha’n*, pp.409, 413.
102. *Ibid*, p.412. This cycle works out exactly.
103. For examples, see D. C. Phillott and M. K. Shirazi, Notes on certain Shi’ah Tilisms, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* N.S. 2/x (1906), pp. 534–7.
104. *B.F.*, 5:10 (p.166).
105. *Ibid*, 7:10 (pp.252–3).
106. *B.A.*, 7:8 (p.30); *H.D.*, 7:8 (p.29).
107. This is one of several examples collected by E.G. Browne, contained in Folder 4, no. 10 of the Browne papers in CUL. See, for further examples, *haykals* in Sayyid ‘Alī Muḥammad Shīrāzī, the Bāb, and Sayyid Ḥusayn Yazdī, *Qismatī az alwāḥ-i khatt-i Nuqṭa-yi Ūlā wa Sayyid Ḥusayn Kātib* (n.p. n.d.), pp.19, 26.
108. *B.F.*, 5:10 (p.166).
109. Published in Māzandarānī, *Asrār al-āthār*, 5 vols. (n.p. 124–9 B.E./1968–73), IV, pp.115–20; see Appendix III.
110. On these, see H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammed-anischen Zauberei* (Berlin and Leipzig 1930), chap. 2.
111. See *Ibid*, pp.150–67. Many of these devices appear in Arabic and Persian secret codes and may be legible (see C. E. Bosworth, Codes, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V, pp.883–5).
112. For these two types of *da’ira*, see Bāb and Yazdī, *Qismatī az alwāḥ*, pp.11, 22. The example reproduced in MacEoin, Nineteenth-century Bābī talismans, fig. 7, has the words *Allahu a’zam* in the central *jadwal*, above which is the phrase, “For ‘Alī, on him be peace”. On circular talismans, see T. Canaan, The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans, *Berytus* 4 (1937), p.109.
113. See G. Anawati, Le Nom suprême de Dieu, *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici* (Naples 1967), p.31.
114. *B.F.*, 6:10 (p.215); *B.A.*, 6:10 (p.25).
115. *B.F.*, 6:10 (pp.215–16).
116. *H.D.*, 6:10 (p.24).
117. *Sharḥ sūra al-qadr*, in Māzandarānī, *Asrār*, V, p.241.

118. *Kitāb-i chahār sha'n* and untitled *ṣaḥīfa*, in 'A. F., *Ā'in-i Bāb*, pp.69–70. On the untitled *ṣaḥīfa*, see *ibid*, p.49.
119. *Ibid*, in 'A. F., *Ā'in-i Bāb*, p.70.
120. Untitled *ṣaḥīfa*, in *ibid*.
121. *H.D.*, 8:2 (p.32).
122. *B.F.*, 8:2 (p.274). Those who are able are required to possess three diamonds (to the number of the letters in *bism*), four yellow rubies (to the number of the letters in *Allah*), six emeralds (for *al-amna'*) and six red rubies (for *al-aqdas*), all to be given to him whom God shall manifest (*ibid*, 8:5, p.285).
123. *Ibid*, 8:6 (p.286). E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers 1909), pp.149–50, 165, refers to a similar use of henna for writing amulets.
124. *B.F.*, 8:18 (p.306).
125. *B.A.*, 8:18 (p.39). For the Babi calendar, see Appendix V.
126. *B.F.*, 8:18 (p.308).
127. *Ibid*, 4:12 (pp.135–6).
128. *Ibid*, 9:1 (p.312).
129. *B.A.*, 6:16 (p.27).
130. *B.F.*, 4:16 (pp.141–2). That the reference to the new house of God is to the Bab's Shiraz house seems evident from the remark that there is ■ mosque in Shiraz (the Masjid-i Jami') in which there exists a structure similar to the *ka'ba* and that this is ■ prophetic sign established before the issuing of the decree to construct God's house in that land (*ibid*, p.142). On this structure, known as the *khudā-khāna* or House of God, see George Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London 1892), II, pp.101–2. The Bab's house, which had been very faithfully preserved and restored by the Baha'is, was tragically destroyed by mob violence in 1979.
131. *H.D.*, 5:1 (p.5); *B.A.*, 5:1 (p.18); *B.F.*, 4:17 (p.145).
132. *H.D.*, 4:16 (p.16); *B.A.*, 4:17 (p.16). The sentence which follows this direction in the *Haykal al-dīn* (pp.16–17) remains incomprehensible to me: "And what was buried [or, I buried] about him, let you build upon them [fem. pl.] three times, then make mention in the house of God there" (*wa mā dufinat fī ḥawlihi antum 'alayhinna thalāth marāt tabnūna thumma fī bayt Allāh hunālika tadhkirūna*).
133. *B.F.*, 4:16 (p.144).
134. *B.A.*, 10:15 (p.50).
135. *B.F.*, 4:18 (p.146).
136. *Ibid* (p.147).
137. *Ibid* (p.146).
138. *B.A.*, 4:19 (p.17). On the *mazahir al-wahid* as equivalent to the 19 servants, see *ibid*, 4:18 (p.16.).
139. *B.F.*, 4:19 (p.150).
140. *Ibid*, 7:15 (p.260).
141. *Ibid*, 4:18 (p.146), 4:19 (p.150).
142. *B.A.*, 4:17 (p.16), 4:18 (pp.16–17), 4:19 (p.17).
143. *B.F.*, 4:13 (p.137).
144. *Ibid* (p.138).

145. *Ibid* (pp.137–8).
146. *Ibid*, 4:14 (p.138).
147. *Ibid*, 4:15 (p.141).
148. Untitled *ṣaḥīfa*, in ‘A. F., *Ā’in-i Bāb*, p.76.
149. For text, see CUL, Browne Or. Ms. F.23 (9), ff.98b–107a.
150. Māzandarānī, *Zuhūr al-ḥaqq*, pp.106, 187; Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārikh: salāṭin-i Qājāriyya*, 4 vols. (Tehran 1344/1965–6), III, p.234.
151. Cf. statement of Subh-i Azal to E. G. Browne in *idem*, A Catalogue and Description of 27 Bābī Manuscripts, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24 (1892), p.445.
152. Kāshānī, *Nuṭṭat al-kāf*, pp.136, 179. A copy of this *ziyara* may be found in CUL, Browne Or. Ms. F.22, and there are two copies in INBA (5006.C, pp.278–84; 6012.C, pp.397–412).
153. Kāshānī, *Nuṭṭat al-kāf*, p.108; Mullā Muḥammad Nabīl Zarandī, *The Dawn-Breakers: Nabīl's Narrative of the Early Days of the Bahā'ī Revelation*, trans. and ed. Shoghi Effendi (Wilmette 1932), pp.430–31.
154. *B.F.*, 8:13 (p.295).
155. *Ibid*, 8:12 (p.294).
156. CUL, Browne Or. Ms. F.23, item 65; Browne mistakenly assumed the “place where this tree was struck” to be the scene of the Bab’s martyrdom (thus translating “the place where this Tree shall be struck down”) — see Catalogue and Description, p.482.
157. *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* in INBA, 5010.C, pp.172–5. The text is incomplete and I am unable to list all ten purifying agents — they may, however, have been fundamentally identical to those listed in the *Bayān* and other later works.
158. *Risāla furū’ al-’adliyya* in INBA, 5010.C, p.89 (the text refers to ‘11 things’, but only ten seem to be listed).
159. *Ibid* (pp.89–92).
160. *Ibid* (pp.92–3).
161. *Ibid* (pp.93–4).
162. Kāshānī, *Nuṭṭat al-kāf*, pp.140–41.
163. *B.F.*, 5:14 (p.174).
164. *Ibid* (pp.174–5). General instructions regarding personal cleanliness are given in *ibid*, 8:6 (pp.286–7); these include complete bathing every four days, depilation every eight to 14 days, the cutting of the nails every 14 days, and the use of henna and *nūrā* (a depilatory unguent). The presence of even a speck of dirt on one’s clothing is to be treated as a cause for disgust. In 6:2 (p.191) the use of perfumes is recommended.
165. *Ibid* (p.174 and see p.173).
166. *H.D.*, 5:14 (p.8).
167. *B.A.*, 5:14 (p.21).
168. *B.F.*, 5:14 (p.174).
169. *B.A.*, 10:5 (p.46).
170. *Ibid*, 10:1 (p.44).
171. *B.F.*, 5:14 (p.174).
172. *Ibid* (p.175).
173. *Ibid*, 5:15 (p.176).

174. *H.D.*, 6:17 (p.26).
175. *Ibid*; *B.A.*, 6:17 (p.28).
176. *B.F.*, 6:17 (p.236).
177. *Ibid*, 6:9 (p.213).
178. *B.A.*, 8:10 (pp.34–5); *H.D.*, 8:10 (pp.33–4).
179. *B.A.*, 8:10 (p.35); *H.D.*, 8:10 (p.34).
180. *B.F.*, 6:2 (p.189); *B.A.*, 6:9 (p.25).
181. *B.F.*, 6:2 (p.190).
182. *Ibid* (pp.190–91).
183. *Ibid* (p.191).
184. *Ibid*, 9:10 (p.328).
185. *Ibid*, 5:11 (p.168).
186. *B.A.*, 5:11 (p.20).
187. See *Ibid*, 5:4 (p.18); *H.D.*, 5:4 (p.6); *B.F.*, 3:17 (p.102).
188. *B.F.*, 9:9 (p.324).
189. *Ibid* (p.325).
190. *Ibid*, 5:11 (p.168).
191. *B.A.*, 5:11 (p.20).
192. *B.F.*, 8:11 (pp.291–2).
193. *Ibid* (p.292).
194. *Ibid*.
195. *B.A.*, 5:11 (pp.20–21).
196. *H.D.*, 5:11 (p.7).
197. *B.F.*, 5:12 (p.170).
198. *Ibid*.
199. *Ibid*, 8:11 (p.292).
200. *Ibid* (p.293); *B.A.*, 8:11 (p.36).
201. *B.A.*, 9:18 (p.44).
202. *H.D.*, 6:7 (p.22).
203. *Ibid*, 6:7 (pp.22–3), 8:15 (p.36); *B.F.*, 6:7 (pp.200–1).
204. *B.F.*, 6:7 (p.200).
205. Strictly speaking, the verb used here (*yamhuranna*) ought to mean “to give the dowry”, but there are objections to this reading. First of all, this would result in the statement “let them each give the dowry”, which contradicts the ruling that it is only the man who is to do so. Secondly, the use of the same verb in the *Haykal al-dīn* (6:7, p.23) is in a context which more obviously suggests the idea of putting a seal on something. Thirdly, the Persian *Bayān* (6:7, p.200) would seem to confirm this by its use of the Persian sentence *har daw muhr kunand bar lawḥī* — “let each of them place a seal on a paper”. It would seem that the Bab has here formed an Arabic verb based on the word *muhr* (seal), from the same root as *mahara* (to pay a dowry) and *mahr* (dowry).
206. *B.A.*, 6:7 (p.24).
207. The verb is masculine, but it only makes sense if treated as referring to the woman. The text of the *Haykal al-dīn* is, in any case, extremely corrupt.
208. None of the plurals used (*rāḍiyūn*, *rāḍiyāt*) is strictly correct; the plural of *rāḍī*ⁱⁿ is *rudāt*.

209. *H.D.*, 6:7 (p.23). The last phrase reads either "then let them go unto God" or, possibly more correctly, "then let them go unto the cause of God". Whether or not consummation would usually have been possible for 11-year-old couples is obviously open to question.
210. *B.F.*, 5:3 (p.153).
211. *Ibid.*
212. *Ibid* (pp.153-4).
213. *Ibid*, 6:14 (p.228).
214. *Ibid* (p.229).
215. *Ibid*, 5:3 (p.154).
216. *B.A.*, 6:14 (pp.26-7).
217. The instruction is followed by the words "Verily, I am God, there is no god but Me, the King, the Powerful" — it is possible that the intention is that this verse be used in the second or third person.
218. *H.D.*, 6:14 (p.25).
219. *B.F.*, 6:14 (p.229).
220. *Ibid*; *ibid*, 5:3 (p.153).
221. *Ibid*, 5:3 (p.153). On the similarity of this concept to the Zoroastrian arrangement of the days and months, see Browne, introduction to *Kāshānī*, *Nuqtat al-kāf*, p.lxxv.
222. *H.D.*, 7:4 (p.28).
223. *B.A.*, 9:17 (pp.43-4).
224. *H.D.*, 7:11 (p.30); *B.A.*, 9:9 (p.42).
225. *H.D.*, 7:11 (p.30).
226. *B.A.*, 9:9 (p.42).
227. *H.D.*, 7:11 (p.30); *B.F.*, 7:11 (p.253).
228. *B.A.*, 7:11 (p.30).
229. *Ibid*, 6:15 (p.27); *B.F.*, 6:15 (p.230).
230. *B.F.*, 8:19 (p.309).
231. *B.A.*, 8:19 (pp.39-40).
232. *B.F.*, 9:1 (p.322).
233. *B.A.*, 9:1 (pp.40-41).
234. On the distribution of early Babi scriptural texts, see MacEoin, *Sources*, pp.16-23.
235. Luṭf 'Alī Mīrzā Shīrāzī, *Untitled History*, CUL, Browne Or. Ms. F.28, item 2, p.71.
236. *Kāshānī*, *Nuqtat al-kāf*, p.231 (cf. Zarandī, *Dawn-Breakers*, pp.552-3).

I INSTRUCTIONS BY THE BAB FOR THE SPIRITUAL SEEKER

If you should yearn to travel unto God in the land of the Red Sand-dune, in the company of the leaders of men (*al-nuqabā*), then you must journey on this most mighty Path, the Light of God in the heavens and on earth, unto whom all that are in the heavens and on earth have bowed down, and unto whom they show obedience . . .

After you have completed the noon prayer, recite the word of divine unity [i.e. there is no god but God] 14 times. Pay close attention to your condition wherever you may be, and do not busy yourself with anything whatsoever that may veil you from the mention of God (*dhikr Allah*).¹ Know that the greatest of devotions is, in the sight of your Lord, no more than a pause in recitation when considered in the light of actual union with Him. These are God's commands unto them that travel within this Land. He who abandons God's commands shall never be able to find a way unto God . . .

When the white stripe [of dawn] shines forth above the black horizon, be assured that the light of your existence has risen from the Morning of Eternity (*Ṣubḥ al-azal*). Wherefore, pray the morning prayer upon the temple of your love and during the first prostration recite the *Sūra al-Fajr* and, during the second, *al-Kawthar*. Be careful that, in the course of your prayer, you do not go out from the face of your Lord: whoever goes out from the prayer shall take the form of a donkey. As you go up (? *fimi'rājika*), do not draw attention to anything but God; pointing out anything but God after you have recited the *takbir* would bring ■ charge of deceit against your soul. Fear God and do not include anyone else in your worship of your Lord.

When you have finished [the prayer], sit in the temple of prophethood [a posture], facing the spot where the sun is rising, for the sustenance of men's hearts is divided out at that hour; he who remains asleep shall be deprived of his share. After the dawn prayer, read from the Qu'ran in the accent of its revelation, in a spirit of sadness and tranquillity . . .

Pay heed to the prayers that follow [the *salat*], that are concealed by the truth, and recite the morning prayer (*Kalimat al-ṣabāḥ*) that has been revealed from the tongue of 'Alī² . . .

When the sun has risen, rise up from your seat and go with a loving face to your family and to those of your friends who have come to meet with you, and speak with them with kindness and beauty . . .

From the onset of legal maturity, perform a fast according to the decree of your Lord every month for a period of ten days until you reach the age of 30. And when you have attained that age, fast for half the month until you reach the age of 40, after which you should fast for three days every month: the fifth day from 20 and the fourth from the middle.³ [Continue thus] until you reach the age of 50: at this point, you

ought not to fast, with the exception of what God has commanded for you in the sacred month, the month of Ramadan, as has been revealed in the Qur'an . . .

As regards your drink, watch carefully and take, by the power and strength of God [upon?] the hands of your soul, at the start of each day a little mastic (*kundur*: frankincense, gum mastic or juniper gum) and some cloves (*qaranful*), with an equal amount of pure sugar, and drink a cup of water in which there has been boiled a piece of white paper of Chinese origin. To drink this is according to the ways of nature: it attracts moisture, closes the paths of allusion (*subūl al-ishāra*), and enlivens the one who drinks it through meeting with the people of truth; in it there are innumerable benefits for whosoever has openly borne witness to the path of explanation (*sabīl al-bayān*). If you desire more than a cup, drink only one, for God loves singularity in all conditions. If you like, you may drink some milk along with it, provided it is not cold. Thus has God commanded you concerning what you should drink in the hour following the rising of the sun. Do not drink more than what I have commanded you, nor take anything after it, unless it be light sweets, for the latter are permissible to you under all circumstances. Busy yourself with the condition which has been written down by God.

When sunset approaches, free yourself for your Lord's affair and sleep for an hour before the sun sets. When you rise from sleep . . . [text unclear], and then purify your body with water and perfume it as far as you are able, then await the call of your Lord.

When the sun has set, magnify God your Lord seven times and say the following words: "Praise be to God and glory be to God, He Who has never taken a companion nor a son, He Who has no partner in His dominion, for Whom there is no associate in ignominy." Magnify Him saying *Allahu akbar*, and after that recite 12 times the *Sūra al-Tawhid*. Then perform works of supererogation. For God has promised to him that does such deeds the most great word [*kalimat al-akbar — sic*]. Should the servant behold the bounty of his Lord, he shall be in the station of supererogation (*maqām al-nawāfil*): he shall hear with the ear of his Lord, he shall speak with his Lord's tongue, he shall see with his Lord's eyes, and when he gives it shall be as if the hand of his Lord were giving (*ḥukmu yadihi ḥukmu 'atā'ihī*). Whenever he is silent, He shall answer him in secret at once. Fear not, for you are among them that have been brought near to God.

When you have completed these supererogatory works, pray the noon prayer upon the dawning-place of revelation on the horizon of Sinai. Halt there, for it is upon that spot that your Lord is worshipped. Halt and give ear to His voice. Praised be he, sanctified be he, Lord of the angels and the spirit. Bear witness to His beauty in the signs of your ascent (*fī āyāt mi'rājika*) and do not deprive yourself of your share in the

pleasure of mentioning Him and coming near to Him. A [reward?] has been written down for them that bow down at the station of nearness to your Lord.

When you have completed the prayer, render praise to God your Lord, with the Prayer of the Great One (*Taṣbiḥ al-Kubra*), Fatima the Radiant,⁴ and then recite the Prayer of Praise (*Du'ā al-tahmīd*), which has been sent down in the *Ṣaḥīfa*.⁵ Then stand at once and perform for the sake of God the supererogatory acts of the evening, together with the evening prayer. And observe the laws of the *shari'a* in all that you do, lest so much as an atom of God's bounties escape you.

And when you have completed your Lord's command, bow yourself down before God for a long time, then return home. Then eat of God's bounties after the evening prayer: seven portions, if you are able, but otherwise 14 portions — but eat no more than that in the paths of your journey unto God, unless you know that it will not harm your spirit. Wherefore, watch over yourself in what you eat, and approach not the tree of what is forbidden (*shajarat al-ḥarām*) or whatever resembles it. Then sit in your house upon your couch, on the right side, and perform in the path of eating as we have set out. And say "In the Name of God" when you begin and sit in the temple of unity, leaning on your left hand. Do not eat alone, and watch over the person seated beside you. Eat according to the form of your love before the face of God, as though you were seated as a messenger before God Himself. Begin with salted food and finish with sweet, praising God inwardly and outwardly in every [possible] manner. And rest while you are eating, as though you were in paradise and the food were God's bounty. Thus has God explained His verses in His Book, that men may be guided to the meeting with Him.

When you have finished, pick your teeth and then brush them with a small twig. Then busy yourself with that which God has written down for you. Do not neglect any of God's decrees under any circumstances. Whatever befalls you in any situation is a decree from your Lord that is binding on you. Associate no one with God in your worship of Him, and if you have an occupation, fear God in all you do (*fī ṣirāṭika*). It is obligatory for all those engaged in business to study religious jurisprudence; it is forbidden for those who believe in God to engage in trade unless they have a knowledge of the law.

Know that the greatest perfection in the eyes of your Lord is knowledge of religious law (*al-faqāha fī 'l-dīn*) and patience in vicissitudes and the calculation of one's livelihood. Thus has God explained His signs (*āyātahu*) that men may be sure of the truth of God's verses (*āyāt Allāh*). If you have busied yourself with that which God has decreed for you, rest from your labours ten minutes before sunset in order to free yourself for your meeting with your Lord. Perform the duties of the night and its acts of supererogation according to the decree

of the Family of God [i.e. the Imams]. And when you come down from your rising up (*mi'rājika*), drink sugared water with fruit juice, as much as you want. Then read from the book of the friends whatever you wish; in it there are gates of good deeds that will open only through what is sent down to you by God's decree. But do not read for more than an hour.

And when three hours of the night have passed, go for your meal and eat 14 portions in tranquillity and dignity, lest you fail to take pleasure in its benefits. When you have finished eating, lie down for an hour after performing your ablutions (? *sā'atan bi 'l-wuḍū'*); make use of perfume and rest in the manner God has prescribed for you. Do not rest alone, for God does not desire such a state for you. If you should lie alone, in spite of being able to do otherwise, you will have disbelieved in your Lord and your sin will be unequalled. Observe God's decree concerning women, for they are leaves of the Tree of Sinai. Do not harm them for so much as the blink of an eye, for, according to the decree of the Book, they are not, in the eyes of God, as men think them to be. God is sufficient for you, inwardly and outwardly, as a witness.

Rest for one hour on your couch, for this is an established right for everyone. Then rest from the beginning of the fifth hour until the end of the eighth. And when a third of the night remains, rise up through God's strength and might and clean yourself for the sake of God, your Lord, in spirit and fragrance, and take advantage of the days of meeting with Him. Then busy yourself with His decree concerning the night prayer: it may be that your Lord shall send upon you a praiseworthy rank.

Divide the night into three: one-third for [reading] verses,⁶ and one-third for rest before God, gazing towards the beauty of His effulgence, and one-third for taking account of your soul, according to what you have done from dawn until this moment. Take your soul to account, for God has made you a judge and reckoner over yourself on His behalf. This is God's decree unto the people of the Path (*li 'l-sālikīn*) in all circumstances. Whoever transgresses the limits God has laid down shall not find God faithful to him on the Day of Judgement. This is the Path of God in the heavens and the earth. Cling unto His cord, and know that God is aware of the secrets of the heavens and the earth. God is a sufficient witness and help unto His servants.

The Remembrance [*dhikr*, i.e. the Bab] of the Name of your Lord has set out the decrees for them that travel on the Path in this book which has been written for you.

(*Ṣaḥīfa bayna 'l-ḥaramayn*,

CUL Or. Ms. 943, pp.66-84, with omissions)

NOTES

1. This is ambiguous. The term *Dhikr Allāh* was one of the early titles of the Bab.
2. A well-known morning prayer (*Du'ā al-ṣabāḥ*) on which the Bab later wrote a commentary.
3. The text is garbled at this point.
4. Possibly a reference to a prayer of the Bab's, known as the *Taṣbīḥ Fāṭima*.
5. Probably the first prayer in the Shi'i collection known as *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, attributed to the fourth Imam.
6. Sentence to here appears corrupt.

II TABLES FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE 19 HAYAKIL

The following tables set out the names and figures of the 19 hayakil.

(Kitāb-i panj sha'n, pp.432-4)

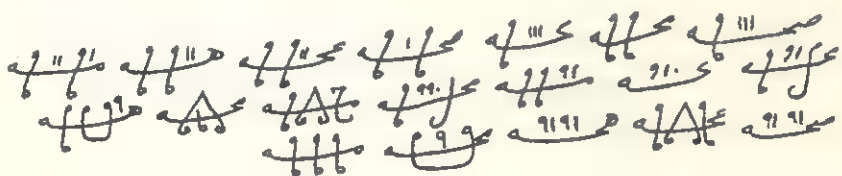
	الاله	يازل	يايدو	ياجوب	ياجيد	البيكر الاول
ياحق ۱۰۸	۳۹	۴۰	۳۲	۵۸	۲۸	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	
	۹۶	۸۴	۷۲	۶۰	۴۸	
	ياسط	يايدو	ياجوب	ياجيد	ياالير	البيكر الثاني
طرز ۲۱۶	۷۲	۸۰	۶۴	۱۱۶	۵۶	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	
	۱۹۲	۱۶۸	۱۴۴	۱۲۰	۹۶	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	البيكر الثالث
شيدور ۳۲۲	۱۰۴	۱۲۰	۹۶	۱۷۲	۸۴	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	
	۲۸۸	۲۵۲	۲۱۶	۱۸۰	۱۴۴	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	البيكر الرابع
كتيب ۴۳۲	۱۴۴	۱۶۰	۱۲۸	۲۳۲	۱۱۲	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	
	۳۸۸	۳۳۶	۲۸۸	۲۴۰	۱۹۲	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	البيكر الخامس
لقت ۵۴۰	۱۸۰	۲۰۰	۱۶۰	۲۹۰	۱۴۰	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	
	۴۸۰	۴۲۰	۳۶۰	۳۰۰	۲۴۰	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	البيكر السادس
مرشح ۶۴۸	۲۱۲	۲۴۰	۱۹۲	۳۴۸	۱۶۸	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	
	۵۷۶	۵۰۴	۴۳۲	۳۶۰	۲۸۸	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	البيكر السابع
جذابان ۷۵۶	۲۴۸	۲۸۰	۲۲۴	۴۰۶	۱۹۶	
	ياطوك	ياغز	ياسط	ياورم	ياالير	
	۶۷۱	۵۸۸	۵۰۴	۴۴۰	۳۳۶	

البيكر الثامن	رودد ٢٢٢	موتخر ٢٦٤	نور ٢٥٩	مرمر ٣٢٠	فاجر ٢٨٤
	فروق ٣٨٤	متين ٥٠٠	عتوق ٥٧٤	ساخت ٩٧٠	سافر ١٩١
البيكر التاسع	بهر ٢٥٢	شيو ٥٢١	زح ٢٨٨	رفيع ٣٩٠	قيدر ٢٢٠
	كتيب ٤٣٣	نفر ٥٩٠	سرخ ٩٤٨	زبان ٧٥٤	سكاتب وعظ ٩٧٩
البيكر العاشر	فصان ٢٨١	شرف ٥٨٠	قيدر ٣٢٠	كشف ٤٠٠	ناشد ٣٥٥
	متمم ٤٨٠	زك ٩٢٠	فلص ٧٢٠	مخير ٨٤٢	نذر ٩٦٠
البيكر الحادي عشر	رازق ٣٠١	خازل ٩٢٨	مبشر ٣٥١	ملشف ٤٣٠	شاني ٣٩١
	مفتح ٥٢٨	ترف ٩٨٠	منبر ٧٩٢	زاكر ٩٣١	رضوان ١٥١
البيكر الثاني عشر	مصور ٣٣٥	خضري ٩٩٩	فارق ٣٨٤	متم ٤٨٠	كتوب ٤٢٨
	عتوق ٥٧٩	طليق ٧٤٠	سكاتب ١٩٤	ضروب ١٠٠٨	ناظر ١١٥٢
البيكر الثالث عشر	رفوخ ٢٤٤	ابن ٧٥٢	كشوف ٣١٩	شكر ٥٢٠	سكاب ٤٩٣
	بشوح ٤٢٢	سفر ١٠٠	مصور ٩٣٩	خمان ١٠٩١	مغز ١٢٤٨
البيكر الرابع عشر	نصران ٣٩٢	ضبر ٨١٣	حتم ٣٣٨	نفر ٥٩٠	متين ٥٠٠
	متبلر ٩٧٣	سفر ٨٩٠	ضروب ١٠٠٨	منظر ١١٩٠	خذل ١٣٢٠
البيكر الخامس عشر	كتيب ٤٢٠	خرج ٨٧٠	متمم ٤٨٠	منمن ٩٠٠	شيكور ٥٢٠
	سنگ ٧٢٠	زكر ٩٢٠	فرشا ١٠٨٠	فوسر ١٢٧٠	مستن ١٢٤٠
البيكر السادس عشر	حتم ٤٤٨	زكر ٩٢٩	شرب ٥١٢	شرق ٩٢٠	بعث ٥٧٢
	خضد ٧٤٨	منمن ٩٨٠	ناظر ١١٥١	لغان ١٣٥٣	سنگ ١٥٣٣
					١٧٢٨

والعشر البكر	سبرر ٢٧٦	وخط ٩٨٦	مشد ٥٢٤	زرف ٦٨٠	رتج ٦٠٨
والعشر الناظر	مشد ٢٩٢	مشد ١٠٢٠	مشد ١٢١٨	مشد ١٢٢٠	مشد ١٩٠٥
والعشر الناظر	مشد ٥٠٢	مشد ١٠٢٢	مشد ٥٢٦	مشد ٧٢٠	مشد ٦٢٢
والعشر الناظر	مشد ١٥٠	مشد ١١٠٠	مشد ١٢٩٦	مشد ١٥١٦	مشد ١٧٠٢
والعشر الناظر	مشد ٥٣١	مشد ١١٠٢	مشد ٦٠٨	مشد ٢٦٠	مشد ٦٨٠
والعشر الناظر	مشد ١٩١	مشد ١١٦٠	مشد ١٣٥٢	مشد ١٩٠٥	مشد ١٨٠٢

III TABLET OF THE BAB ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CIRCULAR TALISMAN (*DA'IRA*) OF SEVEN CIRCLES

When thou art in need or desirest that a certain one may be raised to life among the people of truth [i.e. be converted to Babism], inscribe upon a sheet of white paper seven circles, concentric and equidistant, with black, gold or yellow ink. Divide this into 19 sections, none less in size than any other, be it even by as much as a hairsbreadth. This should be written with the same ink. After this, write in the most beautiful script, in the *naskh* style, within the outer circle, 19 exalted words, beginning at "God, there is no God but Him, the Living, the Self-Subsisting" to "and He is the Exalted, the Great" [i.e. the "Throne verse" — Qur'an 2:255]. Then, in the second circle, write the luminous names that form the words of the *bism Allah* [i.e. the phrase *bism Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*], these being *birr* [i.e. ■ word beginning with "b"], *salām*, *malik*, *Allāh*, *latīf*, *latīf*, *hibat Allāh*, then *Allāh* then *latīf*, then *rahmān*, then *hāmid*, then *maḥmūd*, then *nūr*, then *Allāh*, then *latīf*, then *rahīm*, then *ḥalīm*, then *yad Allāh*, then *maqṣūd*. Then add to the beginning of these names the number of their mystery, which is what is in the third circle in the form of the Greatest Name 19 times [i.e. 19 reproductions of the symbol * ۞ ۞ ۞ ۞ ۞ *]. Then, in the fourth circle, the letters of creation, which we shall mention, God willing, in their *haykal*. These are the following devices:



Then, in the fifth, the letters of the *bism Allah*, in their well-known shape [i.e. the 19 letters of *bism Allah al-rahman al-rahim* written separately]. Then, in the sixth, the letters of the six names, the number of which is 19; these are the names of God the Single (*al-fard*), the Living (*al-hayy*), the Self-Subsisting (*al-qayyum*), the Wise [*al-ḥakīm*] [this ought to read *al-hakam*], the Judge, as later in this work: otherwise, the number of letters would be 20], the Just (*al-'adl*), the Holy (*al-quddus*), written separately. Then, in the seventh circle, the letters of any verse of the Qur'an, the meanings of which are similar to what you have desired. I have chosen [these] for whosoever wishes to find a path to the Lord of the Throne. Thus, if you wish for the appearance of what God has bestowed upon you, write down "Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds" (Qur'an 1:2). Then, for release from any difficulty, "Thee do we worship and to Thee we turn for assistance"

(Qur'an 1:5). Then, to seek guidance, "Guide us on the right path" (Qur'an 1:6). Then, for glory: "He glorifies whom He wills and makes abased whom He wills" (Qur'an 3:26). Then, for approaching whom-ever you may wish: "The faces humbled themselves before the Living, the Self-Subsistent" (Qur'an 20:111). Then, for deriving benefit from whomever you love, "Do good, then, as God has done good unto you" (Qur'an 28:77). Then, in time of trouble: "God shall make ease after hardship" (Qur'an 65:7). Then, for the destruction of the enemy, on the condition of the good-pleasure of God and His decree: "And death shall come to him from every place" (Qur'an 14:17). Then, for a severe calamity: "There befell them affliction and distress" (Qur'an 2:214). Then, for disunity among the people of oppression and enmity: "He said, this is the parting between me and you" (Qur'an 18:78). Then, for the elevation of station: "Exalted be God, the King, the True One" (Qur'an 20:114 [the present text adds the word *mubin*, which is not in the Qur'an and is unnecessary for the required number of letters]). Then, to request mercy: "Verily, God is Forgiving, Merciful" (Qur'an 4:23, 106, 129; 33:24 [the present text adds at the beginning the letter *wāw* "and", which occurs in no Qur'anic version and is unnecessary for the required number of letters]). Then, to request wisdom: "Verily, God is Mighty, Wise" (Qur'an 4:56) [the present text adds *wāw* to the beginning, which is not in the Qur'an and is not required for the correct number of letters]). Then, for the removal of sadness: "The greatest terror shall not sadden them" (Qur'an 21:103). Then, for the provision of sustenance: "Happy with what God has given them of His bounty" (Qur'an 3:170 [this sentence contains 23 letters, some of which may be written together in a single *wāhid*]). Then, for victory: "Verily, We have opened to you a manifest victory" (Qur'an 48:1). Then, for victory over the enemy: "That God may assist you in a mighty victory" (Qur'an 48:3). Then, for the overcoming of those who are hostile: "Verily, Our host shall conquer them" (Qur'an 37:173). Then, to request knowledge and attainment to the essence [centre] of understanding: "And He shall teach you the book and the wisdom" (Qur'an 2:151). Then, for all the blessings of this world and the degrees of the next, great and small, hidden and manifest, and to request a son: "And your Lord shall give unto you and you shall be content" (Qur'an 93:5).

These are 19 verses [there are actually 20], according to the tradition of the *bism Allah*: "There are names before the face of God for whatever God has willed". It is incumbent on the believer to read all of these during his life, that God may cause him to attain to the summit of the faith and of the world, through His grace — verily, He is the Powerful, the Lofty, the Merciful, the Gracious. The conditions for using it are these: when you desire to use it, you should begin on the eleventh day of any month, make the circle an indication of your

preservation of it in your goodness (?), then read after every obligatory prayer (*kull ṣalāt al-mafrūda* — *sic.*) the six names, by saying "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: One, Living, Self-Subsistent, Judge, Just, Holy", then the verse you have written in the seventh circle as being related to your purpose — if you wish for the appearance of bounties, just as I have indicated to you: "Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds" 19 times, no more, no less. Then, when you have finished, say: "Lord, bless Muhammad and the Family of Muhammad [i.e. Fatima and the 12 Imams] and the *shi'a* of Muhammad, then hold open your two palms and face the mid-point of the heavens, that is, the heavens of grace, and say: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. O God, I beseech Thee by the [letter] *fā'* of *al-fardāniyya* (singleness) and the *rā'* of *al-rubūbiyya* (lordship) and the *dāl* of *dawām al-daymūma* (the duration of perpetuity) and the *hā'* of *al-ḥayāt al-sarmadiyya* (eternal life) and the *yā* of *yanābī' al-ḥikma* (the springs of wisdom) and the *qāf* of *al-quḍra* (might) and the *yā'* of *al-yaqīn* (certitude) and the *wāw* of *al-wujūd* (existence) and the *mīm* of *al-mulk* (dominion) and the *'ayn* of *al-'ināya* (bounty) and the *dāl* of *al-dalāla* (guidance) and the *lām* of *al-luṭf* (graciousness) and the *qāf* of *al-qayyūm* (the Self-Subsisting) and the *dāl* of *al-dayyān* (the Judge) and the *wāw* of *al-wilāya* (sovereignty; or *al-walāya* guardianship) and the *sīn* of *al-sakīna* (peace, immanence of God = Hebr. *shekina* — these initial letters are the letters forming the six names given above) to bless Muhammad and the Family of Muhammad and the *shi'a* of Muhammad, and to fulfil my need."

Then say: "I have adjured you, O holy and luminous spirits, servants of these mighty letters and verses and of these noble and honoured names to answer my request and confirm my oath and fulfil my need." Then make mention of your need and say: "By the truth of the light of the face of God, the Mighty, the Most Great, and His greatness and His might over you, since those who make descriptions cannot describe His essence, and by His right over you and by His sanctity and power with regard to you, may God bless you." And they shall say: "We have heard and obeyed your pardon, O Lord; in Thee is our end, sufficient for us. What an excellent guardian is He, what an excellent Lord, and what an excellent Succourer. No strength nor power is there save in God, the Exalted, the Mighty. May God bless Muhammad and his Family and their goodly *shi'a*."

No one shall do this but shall attain his desire and reach his aim, nor shall his prayer be rejected — this is a fixed decree and I am its guarantor. It shall be better for all that possess it than to possess the east of the world and the west thereof. Nor shall this be hard for God. It is a right of mine, by the greatest of rights, over those that follow that shining light that they should make it and should perform what I have

commanded them and never neglect it for a day or a night. In it are concealed the lights of holiness, and in it are hidden the lights of fellowship, and in it are revealed the manifestations of the Holy One . . .

And it is correct to write in the centre of the seventh circle that square figure and to fill its interior with those written figures, as follows: 1114, the shape of this in every house (*bayt*), with the points necessary in the geometrical figures. That is a mystery, and the seven circles are together the light of the Night of Decree [i.e. night of 26–27 Ramadan], for the geometry of the shape of the Decree is this: 304; and when you put the two of them [i.e. the 3 and 4] together, there appears the number seven. What is written there is what has been decreed here. And these are the gates of all good . . . for the seven letters have been sent down in the four words [? reference to his name 'Alī Muhammad, composed of seven letters, wherefore he refers to himself elsewhere as *dhāt-i ḥurūf al-sab'*; what the "four words" refer to is not clear] and when you join it there appears the number of the word *huwa* ["he" = 11 = 7+4], for that is the mention of the seal of the Point from the beginning of its mystery in the letters of the *bism Allah* until the end of its descent unto its centre, which is the Point itself . . . And I do not count any man among my followers (*shī'atī*) unless he is in its goodness, as I have commanded him to be, for he that neglects it has neglected all that is good and he that performs it has performed all that is good and is, in my sight, more precious than red sulphur or yellow light . . . Send it in all directions to your brethren and friends that none may be left, whether young or old, man or woman, but shall enter beneath this mercy . . . It is, truly, an amulet from our decree unto our *shī'a*, to protect them from every evil and harm and to bring them unto every good thing and blessing. Whoever takes hold of it has taken hold of a great portion and a greater share; this, indeed, is the mighty victory.

(Māzandarānī, *Asrār*, IV, pp.115–20)

IV PORTION OF A ZIYARATNAMA FOR MULLA MUHAMMAD
'ALI BARFURUSHI QUDDUS, WRITTEN BY THE BAB

Tablet of visitation for the martyrs, on them be peace, who have sacrificed themselves for the Last Name of God, Quddus, Quddus, Quddus. ["The Last Name of God" — *ism Allāh al-ākhir* — was a title of Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Barfurushi.]

In the name of God, the Most Inaccessible, the Most Holy. Holy, holy, holy (*quddūs, quddūs, quddūs*). The glory from God, no other god is there but He, rest upon thy heart and the heart of whomsoever is in thy heart, and upon thy spirit and the spirit of whomsoever is in thy spirit, and upon thy soul and whomsoever is in thy soul, and upon thy body and whomsoever is in thy body. Then, the exaltation from God rest upon thy heart and the heart of whomsoever hath been created from the light of thy praise, and upon thy spirit and whomsoever hath been created from the spirit of thy benediction, and upon thy soul and whomsoever hath been created from the soul of thy unification (*tawhid* — the declaration of God's unity), and upon thy body and whomsoever hath been created from the light of thy glorification. Thou hast been raised up, nor is there above thee anyone possessed of exaltation like unto thee; thou hast come near, nor is there anyone possessed of proximity like unto thine. All created things have given praise in unison out of the essence of thy praise, and all atoms have rendered glorification out of the camphor of thy glorification, and all the psychic entities have extolled the oneness of God in unison out of the substance of thine extolling of His unity, and all the individual realities have lauded the greatness of God in unison out of the absolute reality of thy glorification of His greatness. All render praise unto God through thee, and all sanctify God through thee, and all extol God's singleness through thee, and all magnify God through thee. So great hath been thine affliction that the afflictions of all created things are cut off from any connection with it; the calamity that hath overwhelmed thee hath reached so high a station that no other calamity of any created thing may be mentioned in the same breath as it. By thy glory, there is nothing in existence apart from God that weepeth not sore over thee, that is not established under thy shadow, that doth not praise God with the praise thou didst offer, that doth not sanctify His name with the sanctification thou didst render, that doth not extol the unity of God with the praise of His unity that thou didst utter, and that doth not magnify God with the magnification whereby thou didst honour His greatness. From all eternity and unto all eternity thou hast been in the exaltation of holiness and majesty, and unto all eternity thou shalt be in the height of sanctity and beauteousness. Thou art he that hath become manifest through the manifestation of thy Lord, and kept hidden through the concealment of thy Lord, and

thou art the First, for there is no first save thee, and the Last, for there is no last other than thee. Thou hast ascended through the degrees of creation unto that horizon where none hath gone before thee; and thou hast been raised upon the throne of thy glory on the highest horizon of paradise, higher than which there is nothing whatever in the knowledge of God. I call upon thee and upon all things as witnesses that thy blood is pure, untainted and unsullied, and that through the residue of its very mention the realities of all created things have been made manifest . . . I call upon God and upon all things as witnesses that God hath sanctified thee from all likenesses and hath given unto thee what He hath given unto no one in His creation — not the dominion of earth and all that is on it, but the dominion of paradise and all that dwell therein. Thus, there shall not come into the heart of anyone a mention of grandeur or might, save that he shall come unto thee with a mention of humility and shall descend to the door of thy courtyard in the utmost degree of abasement . . . Verily, I call to witness the angels of the Throne and the Seat and the heavens and the most exalted paradise and the most glorious garden, that circle about thy grave, and ask that they may take the water that poureth from the eyes of whomsoever exhibiteth love for thee and may bring it into the presence of God, thy Lord, and that God may look upon him that hath performed that act of grace and that His paradise may lament over him, and that He may single him out for all His grace and all that He may fashion, for there is no drop of water more loved by God than that which hath flowed out over thy tribulations and hath appeared on the cheek by reason of thy sufferings . . .

(From text in Muḥammad 'Alī Malik Khusravī,
Tārīkh-i shuhadā-yi amr, I [Tehran 130 B.E./1973-4], pp.412-14)

THE BABI CALENDAR

The calendar system of Babism, known as the Badī' or New Calendar, was introduced by the Bab in several works, including the Persian *Bayān* (5:3, pp.152-4). Its basis is a solar year broken into 19 months, each of 19 days, the total of 361 equalling the numerical value of the phrase *kullu shay'*, "All Things". There are also four or five intercalary days (whose positioning is a matter of disagreement between the Azalis and Baha'is).

The Bab is also said to have instituted 19-year cycles termed *wāhid*. Nineteen such cycles constitute a *kullu shay'*, though it is not clear what further significance this has. Each of the years in a *wahid* has its own name, as follows:

1 <i>Alif</i>	11 <i>Bahhāj</i>
2 <i>Bā'</i>	12 <i>Jawāb</i>
3 <i>Ab</i>	13 <i>Aḥad</i>
4 <i>Dāl</i>	14 <i>Wahhāb</i>
5 <i>Bāb</i>	15 <i>Widād</i>
6 <i>Wāw</i>	16 <i>Badī'</i>
7 <i>Abad</i>	17 <i>Bahī</i>
8 <i>Jād</i>	18 <i>Abhā</i>
9 <i>Bahā'</i>	19 <i>Wāhid</i>
10 <i>Ḥubb</i>	

Baha'is date the commencement of the Badī' era (B.E.) from the Naw-Ruz preceding the announcement of the Bab's mission in Jumada I, 1260/May 1844 (Browne, *Traveller's Narrative*, I, p.425), but there are indications that the Bab himself intended it to begin in the sixth year after that (see W. McE. Miller, *The Bahā'ī Faith: its history and teachings*, South Pasadena, Calif. 1974, p.63; cf. *H.D.*, pp.5-6).

The Babi months are named as follows:

1 <i>Bahā'</i> , 21 March-8 April	11 <i>Mashiyyat</i> , 27 September-15 October
2 <i>Jalāl</i> , 9-27 April	12 <i>'Ilm</i> , 16 October-3 November
3 <i>Jamāl</i> , 28 April-16 May	13 <i>Qudrat</i> , 4-22 November
4 <i>'Azamat</i> , 17 May-4 June	14 <i>Qawl</i> , 23 November-11 December
5 <i>Nūr</i> , 5-23 June	15 <i>Masā'il</i> , 12-30 December
6 <i>Raḥmat</i> , 24 June-12 July	16 <i>Sharaf</i> , 31 December-18 January
7 <i>Kalimāt</i> , 13 July-1 August	17 <i>Sultān</i> , 19 January-6 February
8 <i>Kamāl</i> , 2-19 August	18 <i>Mulk</i> , 7 February-1 March
9 <i>Asmā'</i> , 20 August-7 September	19 <i>A'lā'</i> , 2-20 March
10 <i>'Izzat</i> , 8-26 September	

Each of the days of the month has its own name, these corresponding to and in the same order as the months themselves. Thus, the first day of the month of Baha' is likewise Baha', its second day is Jalal, and so on.

The days of the week have been named as follows:

- 1 Saturday, *Jalāl*
- 2 Sunday, *Jamāl*
- 3 Monday, *Kamāl*
- 4 Tuesday, *Fīḍāl*
- 5 Wednesday, *'Idāl*
- 6 Thursday, *Istijlāl*
- 7 Friday, *Istiqlāl*

